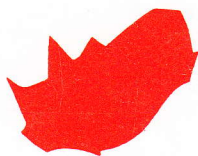


# CovertAction

ADL SPY CASE

QUARTERLY

GLOBAL LINKS TO SOUTH AFRICA'S RACE WAR AND HANI ASSASSINATION  
NAZI ECHO: GERMANY FOR THE GERMANS  
HAITI: POLITICS OF BLOOD AND RACE  
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE: CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS  
THE CRIME OF PUNISHMENT AT PELICAN BAY MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON  
BLACK YOUTH IN POLICE CROSSHAIRS  
INTERVIEW: FRED WEIR IN RUSSIA  
PROFITEERS FUEL THE WAR IN ANGOLA  
GUEST EDITORIAL: BENJAMIN F. CHAVIS, JR.



USAND, TWO HUNDRED SLAIN BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS



# Guest Editorial: In Memory of Chris Hani

*Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr.*

Once again, all freedom-loving people throughout the world are in a state of shock and disgust over the tragic assassination of Chris Hani, young gifted leader of the African National Congress (ANC). This death is another painful reminder of the racist brutality of the apartheid regime in South Africa. It is important that we not let the memory and living spirit of Chris Hani fade.

On April 10, 1993, immediately after returning home from buying a newspaper, Chris Hani was shot to death by a racist coward named Janus Walus. Official South African government explanations now reveal that Chris Hani's assassination has direct ties to the most radical faction of the neo-Nazi Conservative Party in South Africa. [See page 4.] Although Walus was arrested shortly after he drove away from Mr. Hani's home, it was not until several top leaders of this racist faction were subsequently arrested that one top South African police official acknowledged that Hani's killing may have been part of a coordinated, assassination conspiracy.

African-American civil rights leaders in the U.S. as well as the masses of millions of our brothers and sisters, mourn the loss of this great leader. Hani, at the prime age of 50, was one of the bright, shining stars of an emerging new South Africa. Yet, the pains and sacrifices necessary to transform South Africa into a democracy appear increasingly fatal.

The history of the freedom movement in the United States, Africa, and throughout the world documents the necessity not to let assassins silence the movement. We must therefore lift our voices — not only to mourn this loss, but to increase the volume of our outrage against the hideous spectacle of the institutions of apartheid in South Africa.

**Publishers:** Ellen Ray, William Schaap, Louis Wolf

**Director of Research:** Louis Wolf

**Staff:** Carl Deal, Margaret Hanzimanolis,  
Faith Holsaert, Bill Montross,  
Barbara Neuwirth, Jane Teller

**Photography consultant:** Dolores Neuman

**Editor:** Terry Allen

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The origin of Chris Hani's murder weapon implicates South Africa's President and his government. It was too easy for white, right-wing extremists to steal this particular gun from the military in Pretoria. Although Hani's assailant reportedly had licenses for four guns — including a machine pistol — the one he used to kill Hani was not among them.

Moreover, reliable sources point out that the South African police found a "hit list" in the home of Hani's murderer which contained the names of other African political leaders in South Africa. To date, those names have not been revealed. Such startling revelations can only have a very chilling effect on the negotiating process to end white rule.

In fact, it would be more accurate to characterize this brutal murder as a staggering blow to the progress already made in South Africa's transition to majority rule. Chris Hani had the best credentials to succeed Nelson Mandela. Not only had he held several prominent leadership positions in the ANC, but he also had the most charismatic appeal to angry, young blacks. He earned credibility for the ANC among the disgruntled black youth in South Africa. In fact, Hani was viewed by most public opinion polls as the person to lead the ANC into the 21st century.

Now that he is no longer with us, the transition journey to majority rule in South Africa will be rougher than ever. Nevertheless, we must be ever vigilant and keep the faith. Chris Hani has not died in vain and the 'free South Africa' movement will continue and succeed. Long live the memory of Chris Hani. •

Benjamin Chavis, recently elected Executive Director of the NAACP, is a long-time political activist dedicated to working for racial and economic justice. He serves on the boards of numerous social justice organizations and is the President of the Board of the Washington Office on Africa. His weekly column, "Civil Rights Journal," appears in some 300 newspapers.

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# CovertAction

Q U A R T E R L Y

## Global Links to Race War in South Africa and the Hani Assassination



*Jacques Pauw*

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With the murder of Chris Hani and calls for a white Afrikaner homeland, the neo-Nazi Right — backed by international allies — arms for a last-ditch battle to maintain minority rule.

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The Soviet-era Communist elite has exchanged its hammers and sickles for American Express cards. Meanwhile, with rising unemployment, pollution and nationalism, Russia enters an era of political, economic, and social disintegration.

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Increasingly, bogus relief companies, CIA-linked airlines, and freelance gunrunners are strengthening UNITA's drive to win on the battlefield what it lost in free and fair elections.

The cover graphic is taken from, "In Memory of Two Thousand Two Hundred Slain Black South Africans," by Detroit artist Carl Owens, 1986.



# GLOBAL LINKS TO RACE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA & THE ASSASSINATION OF CHRIS HANI

Jacques Pauw

The South African Right now understands: it cannot enforce white supremacy with a ballot box; it will never see an all-white election again. An intense negotiating process is now going on between F.W. de Klerk's National Party government and the African National Congress (ANC) over the shape of post-apartheid South Africa. The process will undoubtedly endorse one-person, one-vote elections for as early as Spring 1994, thereby ensuring black majority rule. With no hope of winning significant support in an open election, even among the minority white community, the Right's fanatic members are increasingly inclined to see a military uprising as the only solution.

South Africa's extreme racists, who number in the hundreds of thousands, are armed to the teeth. Their efforts to rip out the heart of the already fragile negotiating process may plunge the country into war and anarchy. Driven by their hatred for blacks, whom they still call "kaffirs," and by their abhorrence for "white traitors and sellouts," many have joined commando units and underground cells. They have support from international anti-communist and neo-Nazi organizations in Europe and the U.S. including the Heritage Foundation, the International Freedom Foundation, the Moonies, and the World Anti-Communist League.

That these right-wing zealots are both serious and violent was brought home by the recent assassination of Chris Hani. The South African Communist Party (SACP) secretary-general was a hero to millions, South Africa's second most powerful leader after Nelson Mandela, and an important figure in the negotiations. On April 10, Polish-born Janus Walus, a member of a secret right-wing cell, shot Hani as he returned to his Boksburg, Johannesburg home after buying a newspaper. As he lay dead in a pool of blood, rightwingers throughout the country celebrated his murder.

During the week that followed, South Africa's peace process teetered on a knife's edge. Armed thugs from the white supremacist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB, *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging*) rampaged through local townships. They fired guns from pickup trucks, scattering frightened residents, and taunting, "Your king is dead."<sup>1</sup>

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche fanned flames that nearly exploded into war by boasting that if Hani had not already been murdered, he would have wanted to have done the job himself.<sup>2</sup> Extremist leaders warmly and publicly congratulated Hani's accused assassin,

hailed his "bravery," and dubbed him a true "*volks-en oolog-sheld*" (national war hero).

ANC leaders called for reconciliation and calm, as hundreds of thousands of blacks took to the streets in mourning and anger. Mobs looted shops, burned cars and houses, and shouted racially charged remarks at frightened whites. Once again South Africa escaped anarchy and the peace process continued despite calls from within radical black quarters for its suspension.

Jacques Pauw is a South African investigative reporter at *The Star* (Johannesburg), former assistant editor of *Vrye Weekblad* (an independent Afrikaans weekly), and author of *In the Heart of the Whore: The Story of Apartheid's Death Squads*. He has written extensively on the rightwing.

Photo: AFRAPIX/Impact Visuals AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche stands on the stage to disrupt a scheduled address by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, 1986.

1. *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), May 9, 1993.

2. South African Broadcasting Corporation, April 19, 1993.



## Right Enters New Phase

With time running out, the right-wing movement to maintain white supremacy and derail the transition to majority rule has entered a new phase of resistance and mobilization. Dr. Wim Booysel, a political analyst and probably South Africa's foremost expert on the right-wing, believes change may lead to widespread violent resistance against a future, democratically elected government. "I sense a desperate attempt among rightwingers," said Booysel, "that they have to mobilize before the election campaign starts. They believe they can derail the whole campaign and make it impossible for South Africa to have fair elections."<sup>3</sup>

Although the Right has long expected the signal for that battle to be the holding of non-racial elections, Booysel believes that the assassination of Chris Hani may have given the movement new impetus and brought the "plan of action" forward.

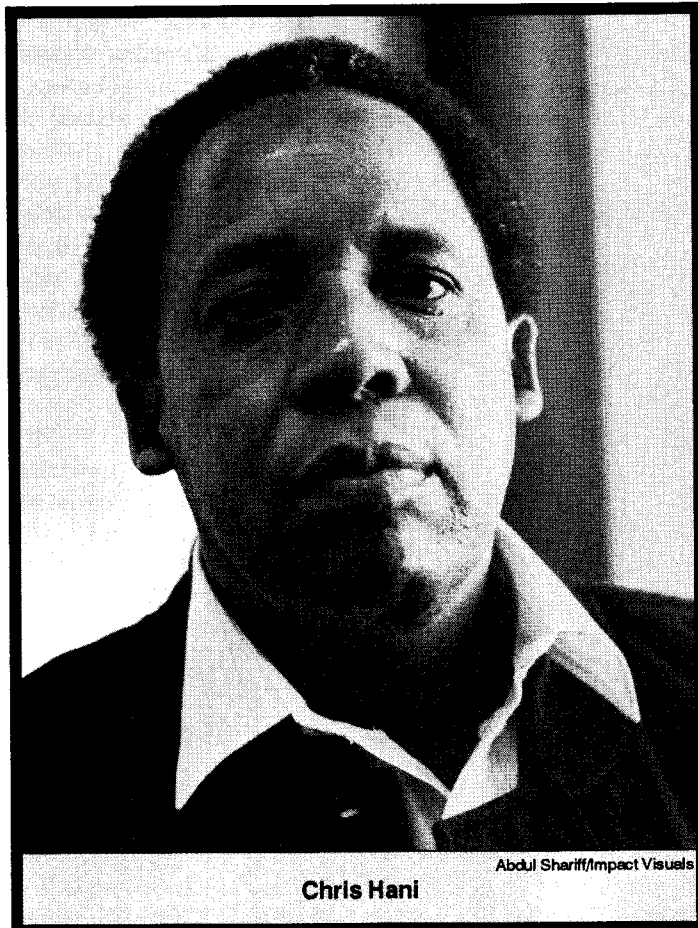
A short time later, Communist Party Chair Joe Slovo was targeted. I was told by a source within the rightwing of a plot to assassinate him. Although the police had been informed of the scheme nearly a week before the slated killing, they had never warned Slovo and I was the first to tell him to take the necessary precautions.

These assassination plots are among many clear indications that rightwingers are mobilizing their underground structures to torpedo the process taking South Africa to democracy and majority rule. Dozens of right-wing hit lists are circulating that include the names of negotiators and "white traitors" such as President F.W. de Klerk; ANC leaders including Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki; and communist leaders Ronnie Kassrils and Slovo. Previously unknown gangs of fascist thugs such as the Boer Republican Army and the Israelite Liberation Army have issued "execution certificates."<sup>4</sup>

"The day a one man, one vote is called, it's war," threatened Andrew Ford, leader of the Boer Resistance Movement, which claims an army of thousands ready for battle.<sup>5</sup> His

voice is echoed by many other fanatics who want to maintain white rule at any cost, including turning South Africa into a bloodbath.

When the Right launches its threatened large-scale armed resistance, the government will have to activate the full might of the security forces against it. While there is as yet no hard evidence of plans for fomenting either a right-wing uprising or a *coup d'etat* from within the security forces, the Right believes that when forced to choose sides, many soldiers and police will not back the government.<sup>6</sup> Many, if not most, whites within the police and the powerful military structures, such as Military Intelligence, support the Conservative Party and the Right. For decades, these whites have been partisans in a war in which the ANC, the Communist Party, and other black organizations were the enemy. They fear that all of the privileges they hold by virtue of race are about to end and that the white government is selling them out through the negotiating process. As the level of racism rises daily, so, too, does the level of violence.



## The Third War for Freedom

Three years ago, a banner at the Conservative Party rally proclaimed: "The right-wing tiger is awakening!" At the same event, Conservative leader Andries Treurnicht announced the start of the "Third War of Freedom,"<sup>7</sup> (the first two having been fought by the Boers against the British toward the end of the 19th century).

For a while, there was much sound and fury but no action, and the assassination threats were laughed off as "bully-boy wartalk." After all, the myth of the mighty Afrikaner soldier was one of South Africa's great fallacies. Afrikaners had lost virtually every war they fought in this century. Secondly, in light of the Afrikaner history of internal discord and rivalry, as myriad groups vied for *baasskap* (supremacy), prospects for coordinated and effective action seemed remote. And most importantly, despite white fears of nationalization,

3. Author's interview with Wim Booysel, April 22, 1993.

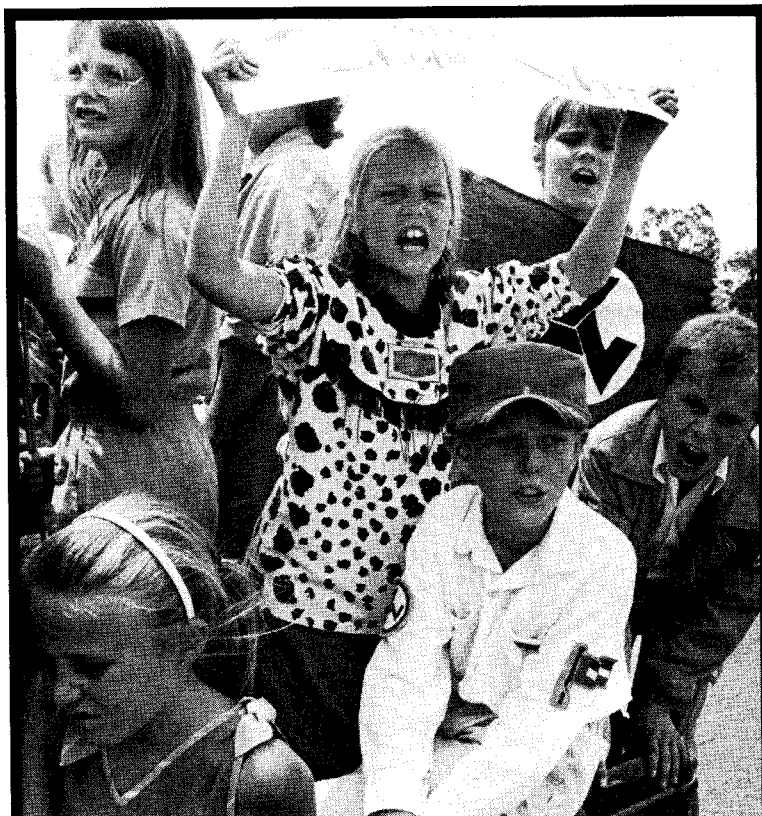
4. *Beeld* (Johannesburg), May 4, 1993.

5. *Sunday Times*, April 25, 1993.

6. Booysel interview, *op. cit.*

7. *Weekly Mail* (Excom, Transvaal), April 2, 1992.





Roger Bosch, AFRAPIX/Impact Visuals  
**Young AWB members celebrate Kruger Day in Transvaal, 1990.**

communism, and black revenge, it appeared likely that, given the ANC's record of peace and reconciliation, whites would keep their jobs, property, and probably even their stranglehold on the economy. Fear and hatred, however, have driven some racist whites to risk all on a mad military campaign.

Recently, the Right seems both more able and more willing to plunge the country into all-out civil war. "There is movement in the rightwing," Booyse warned last year. "Watch out, they are mobilizing. Something is going to happen." He was right, the tiger is ready to strike. Chris Hani is dead; the organized drive to greater unity on the Right is progressing; and a handful of former police and army generals recently joined the Right ranks and assumed leadership positions.

Until a year ago, there were at least 186 identifiable right-wing groups ranging from the popular Conservative Party—which got more than 30 percent of the votes in the 1989 general election—to small, isolated cells of fanatics plotting mayhem and destruction.<sup>8</sup>

Now the number is down to 20, but, says Booyse, rather than indicating a decline, the count demonstrates success in organizing and mobilizing, and in settling old disputes that had prevented unity.<sup>9</sup> The new model is a small unnamed cell which is harder to detect and infiltrate, and has no direct link

with "mother organizations" such as AWB or the Conservative Party. The assassination of Hani was probably planned from within one of these cells.<sup>10</sup>

### **Afrikaner Homeland *Über Alles***

The aboveground manifestations of this renewal include bold gestures of defiance. On May 6, 1993, an estimated 10,000 khaki-clad farmers vented their anger in the historic town of Potchefstroom in the Western Transvaal. They came in luxury cars, four-wheel drives, pickups, and buses to send a message to the world: We will not live under an ANC government. We will take up arms and fight.<sup>11</sup>

The farmers bayed for blood and shouted fury at the government. "Shoot him! Get rid of the traitor!" they screamed about Deputy Minister of Agriculture Tobie Meyer. When told that the ministers of justice, defense, and law and order (police) had declined invitations to attend, they jeered. Members of the AWB—most of whom openly wore holstered guns on their hips—called for war and vowed that the only way to solve their problems was to shoot it out.

The meeting was different from previous right-wing rallies in one important way: the presence of former Chief of the South African Defense Force General Constand Viljoen. The legendary soldier, who fought in Angola and Namibia, received a standing ovation as he called for the suspension of negotiations to remedy the country's violence. According to

Viljoen, ceding joint control of the security forces before ratifying a new constitution was "crass stupidity" and would assure that those forces fell under "communist" control.<sup>12</sup>

In the past, the Afrikaner nation has often turned to its generals in time of crisis.<sup>13</sup> This time, although the farmers pleaded with him to lead the Boer Nation in their freedom war against black majority rule, Viljoen did not directly respond. His very presence, however, was highly significant.

Viljoen is a key figure in the recently-formed Committee of Generals, which aims to unify the Right and pave the way for an independent Afrikaner nation (Boer State). The generals have sent documents to all major parties on the Right, pleading for support. So far, the AWB—the largest group of organized paramilitary racists—has not committed itself.<sup>14</sup>

Another key man in the drive for right-wing unity is former chief of military intelligence, General Tienie Groenewald. Afrikaner nationalists, he says, believe in and will exercise the right to self-protection. They will pursue the quest for an Afrikaner homeland by peaceful means, but will use "mass action and passive resistance" if necessary, and will consider a military option if the constitutional route is

8. Interview with Booyse, *op. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. The author attended the meeting.

12. *Weekly Mail*, May 7, 1993; and *The Star* (Johannesburg), May 7, 1993.

13. *Beeld*, May 7, 1993.

14. *Weekly Mail*, May 7, 1993; South African Broadcasting Corporation, May 8, 1993.



blocked. Groenewald has denied his reported involvement in the formation of a "White People's Army."<sup>15</sup>

Significantly, notes Booysse, right-wing organizations have abandoned their Afrikaner exclusivity and now welcome with open arms their English-speaking compatriots. Through the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag), they have even courted and drawn in black organizations, strange bedfellows indeed. Groenewald defines his current strategy: unify the right, maximize pressure for a homeland, and bolster Cosag influence in multiparty talks on the future.<sup>16</sup> Cosag represents a new

phenomenon in South African politics—black and white organizations standing arm-in-arm against an ANC-led government. It joins two Afrikaner-based parties—the Conservative Party and the *Afrikaner Volksunie* (AVU)—as well as Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, and the homeland governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. According to the general, Cosag rests on four "ethnic pillars": Afrikaners, Zulus, Tswanas, and Xhosas.

A pact between the Right and Inkatha is particularly ominous. The white Right is marked by extremism and firepower, Inkatha by its ability to stoke violence and derail the negotiations process. Inkatha's *impis* and the Right's fanatics have bridged a great abyss of mutual mistrust and hatred with a shared readiness to kill those who oppose them.<sup>17</sup>

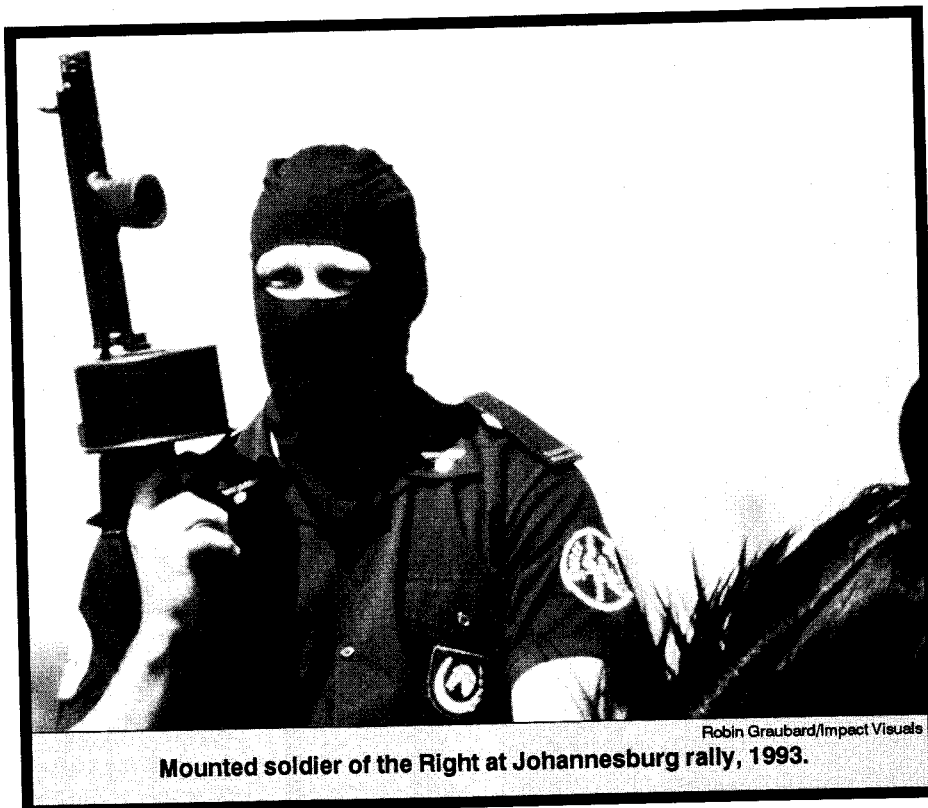
### International Fascist Links

In addition to increasing alliances of expedience on the domestic front, there is clear evidence that the South African rightwing is part of the worldwide network of neo-fascist and extremist organizations.

The arrests that followed Chris Hani's assassination have troubling implications. Janus Walus, the accused assassin, is a member of the AWB and has close links with the neo-fascist World Apartheid Movement and the Afrikaner National Socialists. Outside these relatively open right-wing ties, he was also a member of a small, independent cell containing two leading figures in the Conservative Party: former member of Parliament Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gay Derby-Lewis. All three have officially been charged with Hani's murder and are in custody. According to police, the weapon that killed Hani was part of a consignment of South African Defence Force weapons stolen by the fanatical *Orde-*

*Boerevolk* (Order of the Boer Nation) leader Piet "Shoot" Rudolph in order to launch the "Third War of Freedom."

Clive Derby-Lewis is the South African representative of the extremist World Anti-Communist League (WACL), president of Western Goals (United Kingdom), and a member of the U.S.-based Heritage Foundation.<sup>18</sup> Through his Republican Unity Movement of South Africa (Rumosa), which has 23 branches and 15,000 English-speaking members all over the country, Derby-Lewis played an important role in mobilizing British and foreign rightwingers.<sup>19</sup>



Mounted soldier of the Right at Johannesburg rally, 1993.

WACL's South African representative Derby-Lewis was at the forefront of the international far-Right struggle against communism. Founded in 1966 by the dictatorships of South Korea and Taiwan, WACL is the preeminent umbrella organization bringing together unrepentant "terrorists, Nazis, and Latin American death squad leaders."<sup>20</sup> Among its most notorious members were Mario Sandoval Alarcon, godfather of Guatemala's "White Hand" death squads, and Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, death squad leader of the *Alianza Republicana Nacionalista* (ARENA) party in El Salvador.<sup>21</sup>

According to the book, *Inside the League*, WACL is at least partly sponsored by Rev. Sun Myung Moon's controversial Unification Church and is known to have financed ex-

15. *The Star*, May 6, 1993.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *The Goldstone Commission Report* (1992) blamed Inkatha as one of the main protagonists of violence.

18. *Beeld*, April 20, 1993.

19. *Beeld*, April 17, 1993.

20. WACL has been exposed in: Jon Lee Anderson and Scott Anderson, *Inside the League* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986); and *CovertAction*, Number 25 (Winter 1986), pp. 50, 52-3.

21. Jeff Marishane, "What Is the International Freedom Foundation?" research paper, Institute for Contextual Theology, Johannesburg, 1993.



tremist organizations and right-wing guerrilla movements throughout the world. The Moonies also fund the neo-fascist French National Front headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen, with whom Derby-Lewis has met on various occasions.<sup>22</sup>

WACL's activities in South Africa can be traced back to the 1960s when it was headed by Ivor Benson — chief press censor under Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. Various South African academics, church leaders, and politicians have been linked to the WACL.<sup>23</sup> In 1990, it changed its name to the World League for Freedom and Democracy.

The U.S. chapter, the Council for World Freedom (USCWF), has been headed by General John K. Singlaub (ret.), a leading advocate of the "Low Intensity Conflict Strategy." In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan informally assigned him to implement the Reagan doctrine of overt and covert intervention in key Third World trouble spots. Under Singlaub, WACL funded UNITA in Angola, Renamo in Mozambique, the Contras in Nicaragua, and other right-wing rebel movements. He helped coordinate these fund-raising efforts with organizations such as the Unification Church, the Christian Broadcasting Network and bogus charities such as Citizens for America under New York entrepreneur-politician Lew Lehrman.<sup>24</sup>

Also affiliated with the WACL is the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), which has played an important role in trying to discredit the ANC and promoting Inkatha.

**Inkatha's *impis* and the Right's fanatics have bridged a great abyss of mutual mistrust and hatred with a shared readiness to kill those who oppose them.**

The IFF has even sponsored its own "independent commission of inquiry" into alleged torture in ANC camps. Its South African director, Russell Crystal, has been exposed as a South African Security Police agent.

Founded in July 1985 by Jack Abramoff, the Washington- and Johannesburg-based IFF describes itself as a non-profit educational body dedicated to the promotion and defense of democracy and human rights. Not so, according to Johannesburg-based Institute for Contextual Theology researcher Jeff Marishane: "A close inspection of the IFF reveals it as deeply involved in the resurgence and spread of neo-fascism both inside and outside South Africa."<sup>25</sup>

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*; *Weekly Mail*, April 23, 1993.

25. Marishane, *op. cit.*; and David Ivon, "Touting for South Africa: International Freedom Foundation," *CovertAction*, Number 31 (Winter 1989), pp. 62-64.

## Western Goals

In addition to his role as WACL representative, Derby-Lewis has links with extremist elements in British conservative politics through Western Goals. In May 1985, Western Goals (U.K.) was founded as the British section of the U.S. Western Goals Foundation and affiliated to WACL.<sup>26</sup> Its self-described mission was preservation of Western values and European culture. It is opposed to "communism, liberalism, internationalism, and the multi-cultural society."<sup>27</sup> In 1992, Derby-Lewis succeeded Salvadoran death squad leader D'Aubuisson as Western Goals's president.<sup>28</sup>

Western Goals actively promotes far-Right leaders and causes. In June 1989, when Andries Treurnicht and Derby-Lewis visited Europe, Western Goals handled the public relations. It has served as unofficial international ambassador for the South African Conservative Party to Germany, the French National Front, and the Salvadoran ARENA Party.<sup>29</sup> Its support for extremists extends beyond political and financial backing to include military training. In 1992, Western Goals launched a program to arm and train white South African civilians in preparation for a race war. Carried out by soldiers from the British Army, ex-Rhodesian forces, and the South African Defence Force, the training was under the "overall direction" of Derby-Lewis, who is a former Citizen Force lieutenant-colonel. British special forces experts from the Special Air Services regiment have been in South Africa several times, training white commandos in close quarters combat, firearms use, and survival techniques. Special forces operatives from other countries, including Russian *Spetsnaz* soldiers, have also conducted trainings in South Africa.<sup>30</sup>

Derby-Lewis' right-wing links span both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. He is a member of the powerful conservative Washington-based Heritage Foundation, which funneled financial aid to the Nicaraguan Contras and provided the blueprint for the rise of the Right under Reagan.<sup>31</sup> His name is on the mailing list of the World Apartheid Movement (WAM), which is known to have close contact with such extremist organizations as the Australian Nationalists Movement, *L'Empire Invisible*, the International White Power Network in Germany, the SS-Action Group in the U.S., and the Church of the Creator.<sup>32</sup>

26. Western Goals was founded in the U.S. by Rep. Larry McDonald in 1979. Texas millionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt backed the organization and Singlaub was one of its patrons. (*Weekly Mail*, April 2, 1993.)

27. Western Goals press release (undated); and Marishane, *op. cit.*

28. *The Star*, April 23, 1993. The 1993 Salvadoran Truth Commission confirmed that D'Aubuisson had headed death squads guilty of numerous atrocities, including the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. (Julia Preston, "War Report Accuses Salvadorans," *Washington Post*, March 15, 1993, p. 13.)

29. Marishane, *op. cit.*

30. *Weekly Mail*, April 23, 1993.

31. *The Star*, April 19, 1993; See testimony by Joe Fernandez (aka "Tomas Castillo," former CIA Station Chief in Costa Rica), *Joint Select Committee Hearing on Select Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition*, pp. 170-73, 183-84, 191.

32. *Weekly Mail*, April 23, 1993.



The World Apartheid Movement has always been popular in South Africa among neo-Nazis and white foreigners, especially Eastern European anticommunist zealots. As of 1992, it had a 4,000-name mailing list. Its military wing offers training to rightwingers. Recently, however, WAM lost support after its leader, neo-Nazi fanatic Koos Vermuelen, came under suspicion by the Right of being a police agent. Vermuelen gained notoriety from annual birthday celebrations for Hitler on his fort-like farm outside Pretoria.<sup>33</sup>

### Church of the Creator

There is a long history of international support for right-wing violence as a tactic in South Africa's race war.

In November 1991, two University of Pretoria students, Jurgén Matthew White and Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar, died in a shootout with police in the Kalahari desert. Police believed that the two men, linked to murder, were heading for a secret desert hideout.<sup>34</sup> They were found with a cache of machine guns, hand grenades, and mortars, as well as a large quantity of neo-Nazi literature and an address list of international contacts in the neo-Nazi, neo-fascist, and skin-head movements in Europe, Scandinavia, and the U.S.<sup>35</sup> The two were members of the neo-fascist Afrikaner National Socialists, the World Apartheid Movement, and the Church of the Creator.

The South African Church of the Creator was founded in 1986 and is directly affiliated to the church's home office in the U.S. There was evidence that Grobbelaar had been in direct touch with Ben Klassen, the organization's leader, or *primus dominus*, in the U.S. The Church of the Creator advocates the total extermination of Jews and blacks, groups it calls the "mud races."<sup>36</sup>

### The Conservative Party and the AWB

Although the Conservative Party officially participates in the negotiations, it continues to act as an umbrella for the far Right. With South Africa's first non-racial election less than a year away — and black majority rule the certain outcome — the desperation of the extremists increases. Their ugly mood was demonstrated recently by a Conservative member of Parliament who publicly branded President de Klerk a traitor when he handed him 30 pieces of silver.

The acting head of the Conservative Party, Ferdi Hartzenberg — expected to succeed the late Andries Treurnicht — ardently believes in apartheid. He also maintains close contacts with elements in the AWB.<sup>37</sup> Hartzenberg recently threatened on television that his "people" would offer armed resistance to any settlement which resulted in a democratic government dominated by the ANC. "We are going to fight until we have our freedom again," Hartzenberg vowed.<sup>38</sup>

Much of that fight went underground after a three-year police campaign against the Right netted 136 leaders and supporters.<sup>39</sup> Using cells like the one which spawned the Hani murder, the Right has regrouped. Without names or constitutions, these cells keep low profiles and exercise great caution in accepting members. Their secrecy has impeded authorities' ability to expose members, discover hit squads, and stop plans for violence.<sup>40</sup> Most members of this underground network are also members of the Conservative Party and the AWB.

Arguing that the AWB is a "cultural" organization, the Conservative Party allows its members to belong. The AWB, in turn, interacts with rival ultraright organizations, shares members with some of them, and provides commando training.<sup>41</sup> The Afrikaner Resistance Movement remains by far the biggest and probably most dangerous paramilitary organization. Although AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche claims more than 40,000 men under arms, the commandos have no more than 5,000 members.<sup>42</sup>

TerreBlanche's call for his followers to arm themselves and prepare for military action has been enthusiastically embraced. "TerreBlanche can depend on us to fight shoulder

- Afrikaners are 8% of South Africa's population of 38 million; there is no economically viable area where they have a majority.
- Three million out of South Africa's 5 million whites are Afrikaners.
- The vast majority of Afrikaners are armed; almost all adult males have had military training; hundreds of thousands serve as reservists; and tens of thousands are in right-wing vigilante groups.
- Thirty million blacks possess only 15 % of land.
- 80% of Afrikaners doubt Mandela's sincerity.

Paul Taylor, "Afrikaners' New Apartheid Dream," *Washington Post*, May 23, 1993, p. 31.

to shoulder," said Andrew Ford. "The greatest enemies are whites who are behind everything that has gone wrong. They too will be shot. We have our plans. Watch us."<sup>43</sup> Some of those plans have already been implemented: AWB now holds military training camps every weekend all over the country and there are indications that its commando structures have grown significantly since the March 1992 white referendum.

33. Interview with Booyse, *op. cit.*

34. *Sunday Star* (Johannesburg), November 10, 1991.

35. *Vrye Weekblad* (Newtown), November 8, 1991.

36. *Vrye Weekblad*, November 15, 1991.

37. *Weekly Mail*, April 23, 1993.

38. *Pretoria News*, April 26, 1993.

39. Interview with Booyse, *op. cit.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *The Star*, April 24, 1993.

42. Interview with Booyse, *op. cit.*

43. *Sunday Times*, April 25, 1993.

In a move toward even greater militancy, TerreBlanche was recently sidelined by the Military Council of the AWB, which has reportedly taken control of the organization.<sup>44</sup>

The second largest paramilitary organization after the AWB is the Boer Commando under the leadership of Gawie Volschenk. Although it has only about 600 members, they are well-trained.<sup>45</sup>

The Order of the Boer Nation has less than 80 members, but they are well-armed, -trained, and have already been implicated in large-scale right-wing violence, including murder and sabotage.<sup>46</sup>

Numerous smaller organizations also fight against majority rule. Because of internal rifts, there are, for example, three Boer Resistance Movements. More "intellectual" organizations such as the *Boere-Bevrydingsbeweging* (Boer Freedom Movement) and the *Boerestaats Party* (Boer State Movement) also compete for influence.

44. *The Star*, August 24, 1990; *Weekly Mail*, April 30, 1993; and interview with Booyse, *op. cit.*

45. *The Star*, April 23, 1993.

46. *Ibid.*

## Land of Extremes and Extremists

South Africa has always been known as a country of extremes: extreme wealth and poverty, extreme beauty, extreme temperatures, extreme anger, and above all, extreme racism.

Most political analysts regard the rightwing as a very serious and dangerous threat. Decades of apartheid have created an ugly and nasty strain of white South Africans. They have been brutalized by the belief that black people are not only inferior, but are in favor of a violent and communist-inspired overthrow of "civilized and Christian rule."

I do not know what the future of my country holds. Perhaps rightwingers will eventually support majority rule when they discover that under the rule of President Nelson Mandela, their farms, cars, and pensions have not disappeared. As *Weekly Mail* political editor Phillip van Niekerk puts it: "That may be the moment of knowing that while change is inevitable, war is not. The world will not come to an end. We need to get there soon." Others are not so confident. Angry rightwingers say they are ready for war. Their guns are loaded, their hearts are poisoned, and their fear and desperation make them dangerous indeed. •

**Angry rightwingers say  
they are ready for war.  
Their guns are loaded,  
their hearts are poisoned,  
and their fear and desperation  
make them dangerous indeed.**



Anna Zieminski/Impact Visuals

Members of AWB display neo-Nazi paraphernalia as they march through the streets of Pretoria, 1990.





# Nazi Echo: Germany for the Germans

Michael Hahn

Once again, German Nazis are on the march for racial purity and national supremacy. Last fall, the world glanced with momentary alarm as neo-Nazis launched a wave of racist violence in the city of Rostock and around Germany. In late November, soon after Chancellor Helmut Kohl launched a highly visible crackdown and banned a few extremist organizations, the reports of right-wing violence faded from the corporate media. The "crackdown" had been successful — not in ending attacks on refugees, immigrants, Jews, gays, the homeless, the disabled, and leftists in Germany — but simply in assuaging foreign public opinion.

Neo-Nazism, however, remains a growing force in Germany. Its danger is not limited to the few fascist circles Kohl banned, nor is it simply a temporary response to economic crisis, restructuring, or increasing immigration. Rather, it is part of a development that stretches across post-Cold War Europe but which—in a country which once voted Adolf Hitler into power—contains uniquely German elements.

Since unification in 1990, three phenomena have characterized Germany—an economic crisis, an expansionist stand toward Europe, and a rise in extreme nationalism and neo-Nazism. These linked elements reflect the dramatic shift to the political Right. By scapegoating immigrants as the main cause of economic distress and creating panic over "refugee floods" threatening to "swamp" the country, the government and media have contributed to that trend. Meanwhile, spin doctors and scholars have intensified efforts to whitewash Nazi history and shake off historical impediments, rooted in the memory of Nazi aggression and genocide, to Germany's hegemony in Europe. By September 1992, a public opinion survey conducted by the prestigious Infas Institute found that 51 percent of respondents agreed with the neo-Nazi slogan "Germany for the Germans."<sup>1</sup>

## Neo-Nazi Violence

While post-war Germany has a long history of neo-Nazi activity, neo-fascist violence has increased dramatically in

Michael Hahn is a German writer who lives in Washington, D.C.  
Photo: Teit Hornbak/Impact Visuals. Neo-Nazis on the march in Dresden.

1. Martin Lee, "Hitler's Offspring," *The Progressive*, March 1993, p. 31.

the past two years. The events in the northeastern seaport city of Rostock were only the most blatant examples. For five nights in August 1992, several hundred racist skinheads and neo-Nazis attacked a housing project for Roma/Gypsy refugees and Vietnamese workers with rocks and firebombs, while several thousand local residents applauded.<sup>2</sup> The police maintained only a minimal presence at the scene, and, on the third night, withdrew altogether, allowing the neo-Nazis to set the building on fire. The 150 people still inside had to escape over the rooftops. The police claimed they lacked the personnel and equipment to confront the neo-Nazis. The following weekend, however, heavily-equipped riot control police delayed a peaceful *anti-fascist* march for four hours.<sup>3</sup>

Every day since the Rostock attacks, neo-Nazi thugs have assaulted refugees (mostly from Eastern Europe and Africa), immigrants, and other "undesirables." Contrary to public perception, most of the attacks occurred not in the impoverished East, but in Western Germany.

2. Helsinki Watch, "Foreigners Out": *Xenophobia and Right-Wing Violence in Germany*, New York, October 1992, pp. 18-21. For an extensive account of the Rostock events, see *Searchlight*, October 1992, pp. 12-21. This 30-year-old British monthly is the best English-language source for up-to-date information on the European Far Right and the anti-fascist and anti-racist movements: *Searchlight*, 37B New Cavendish Street, London W1M 8JR.

3. Steve Vogel, "13,000 Germans Demonstrate Against Right-Wing Violence," *Washington Post*, August 30, 1992.

Germany's domestic intelligence agency (*Verfassung-Schutz*) recorded 2,285 violent attacks in 1992 — a 54 percent increase over 1991.<sup>4</sup> Only 894 of the suspects in these cases have been identified; the vast majority are young men under 21. Since many victims (especially asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants) fear additional harassment by the authorities, most assaults probably remain unreported.

According to police statistics, in 1992, 17 people were killed by neo-Nazis, with independent researchers documenting at least 9 additional victims.<sup>5</sup> Although most murder victims were either Third World refugees or homeless German men, they are not the only targets. Increasingly, disabled people have been assaulted.<sup>6</sup> And in 1992, police recorded 77 cases of vandalism against holocaust memorials, Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, including a September arson

4. "Bomben und Baseballschläger," *Tageszeitung* (Berlin), February 8, 1993. The Federal Criminal Office reported almost 5,000 "indictable xenophobic offenses," including racist insults, graffiti, and other "non-violent" acts. According to police statistics, violent attacks decreased in the first two months of 1993, although "officials warn that warmer weather will likely bring another wave of attacks." (Marc Fisher, "Rightists' Attacks on Foreigners Ebbing in Germany," *Washington Post*, March 5, 1993.)

5. Bernd Siegler, "Verwischte Todesspur der Neonazis," *Tageszeitung*, February 10, 1993.

6. Craig Whitney, "Disabled Germans Fear They'll Be the Next Target," *New York Times*, January 19, 1993.



Jim Tynan/Impact Visuals

Police drag away protester at anti-fascist rally, Berlin, November 9, 1992.



attack on the "Jewish barracks" at a concentration camp memorial near Berlin.<sup>7</sup>

The government and mainstream media paid scant attention to the violence until last November, when a long-time Turkish resident of Mölln (a suburb of Hamburg in north-western Germany), her 10-year-old granddaughter, and her 14-year-old niece were killed by arsonists. Two local neo-Nazis were eventually indicted on murder charges.<sup>8</sup>

Until recently, the German government maintained that neo-Nazi attacks were "isolated incidents," perpetrated by disgruntled (and often drunk) unemployed youth. Evidence to the contrary is overwhelming.<sup>9</sup> The widespread targeting of Jews, the homeless, and the disabled as well as foreigners, points to an agenda that goes far beyond the issue of immigration, and includes a comprehensive neo-Nazi ideology.

Along with the wave of night-time attacks, neo-Nazis also organized a series of large, highly disciplined demonstrations around the country. One, on November 17, 1991, Germany's Memorial Day, drew 1,200 uniformed fascists of all ages to pay tribute to the Nazi *Wehrmacht* and SS soldiers buried in Halbe, near Berlin. The neo-Nazis joined the official military ceremony at the cemetery where SS veterans, guarded by the official *Bundeswehr* honor guard, laid wreaths "to the fallen European heroes."<sup>10</sup>

From the neo-Nazi perspective, such national demonstrations and the media attention they generate serve several purposes: They present a forceful, unified movement to the public; they bring together the often competing and fragmented groups on the far Right; and they push the limits of what is legally acceptable. At these demonstrations, police rarely enforce the law prohibiting public displays of swastikas, political uniforms, and the "Sieg Heil" Hitler salute.

Support for Nazi ideals is increasingly open and "legitimate." It was, after all, the corporate media and the established political parties which whipped up the frenzy over the "threat" posed by waves of refugees and immigrants. A September 1991 memorandum from the ruling CDU (Christian Democrat) party's secretary-general instructed all local party officials to dramatize the asylum issue for political purposes.<sup>11</sup> Shortly after the Rostock violence, the Kohl government signed a treaty with Romania, allowing Germany to deport up to 60,000 Roma/Gypsy refugees to Romania, despite evidence of widespread persecution in that country. Bonn agreed to pay \$21 million to Bucharest in "return and reintegration aid."<sup>12</sup> The accord was condemned by Helsinki Watch, among others, as an effort



**Desecration of Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Weibensee.**

...to shift the blame to the victims of the violence and to single out a group of foreigners that is especially hated and misunderstood. [This] is a clearly discriminatory measure that violates Germany's obligations under international law. Furthermore, it achieves exactly what the right-wing extremists were fighting for, and gives the impression that the government is caving in to right-wing demands for a "foreigner-free Germany."<sup>13</sup>

### German Response

After the arson-murders in Mölln, worldwide criticism and protest forced German authorities to acknowledge that the country, indeed, faced a neo-Nazi problem.<sup>14</sup> The Kohl government began showing anxiety over the right-wing resurgence which its policies had abetted. Echoing the ruling CDU's anti-immigrant rhetoric and crying "the boat is full," the far Right political parties won spectacular electoral successes in local and state elections in 1992 and 1993. Perhaps

7. Marc Fisher, "Fire Damages Holocaust Memorial Near Berlin," *Washington Post*, September 27, 1992.

8. AP, "Germany Indicts 2 Men in Slaying of 3 Turks," *New York Times*, March 9, 1993.

9. "German riots no coincidence: CBs used to direct assaults," *Washington Times*, September 1, 1992.

10. "Neo-nazi circle of evil," *Searchlight*, March 1992, pp. 3-4.

11. Roland Appel, *Die Asylflüchte* (Cologne: Volksblatt Verlag, 1992), pp. 26-7.

12. Marc Fisher, "Bonn, Bucharest Cement Accord to Repatriate Romanian Gypsies," *Washington Post*, September 25, 1992.

13. Helsinki Watch, *op. cit.*, p. 35. See also Reuter, "Rights Group Criticizes Germany," *Washington Post*, October 29, 1992.

14. Marc Fisher, "Germany Now Telling Its Officials To Acknowledge Neo-Nazi Problem," *Washington Post*, March 19, 1993.

# Who's Who on Germany's Far-Right

The German far-Right has no undisputed leader, such as Jörg Haider in Austria or Jean-Marie Le Pen in France. Instead, the German neo-Nazi movement constitutes an often confusing spectrum of dozens of competing groups claiming approximately 80,000 members. They fall into roughly two categories, although cooperation among groups and cross-memberships are increasing. The far-Right electoral parties have a relatively large membership. While spouting racist campaign rhetoric, they pay lip service to Germany's constitution and condemn the violent attacks against immigrants, refugees, and others. Other smaller militant/terrorist groups often operate semi-clandestinely and advocate the overthrow of the bourgeois-democratic system.

## Electoral Parties

**Republikaner Party:** 23,000 members. It was founded in 1983 and is currently led by former Nazi SS officer Franz Schönhuber. Its right-wing populist platform calls for law and order, "family values," and guarding the German national identity against the threat posed by immigration and multiculturalism. In the party's biggest success — the April 1992 election in the prosperous southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg — it won 15 of the 146 legislative seats. The Republikaner Party is also represented in the European parliament, and on hundreds of city and county councils (including Berlin and Frankfurt). Of all far Right parties, it is the most likely to gain representation in the federal parliament in next year's election.

**German People's Union (DVU):** 24,000 members. It was founded in 1971 by multi-millionaire Gerhard Frey. He publishes several neo-fascist weekly newspapers with an estimated circulation of 100,000 and runs effective direct-mail campaigns to promote his cause. The DVU currently holds seats in two Western state legislatures. It is the leading organization of the traditionalist "Old Right" and promotes unabashed holocaust revisionism and anti-Semitism.

**National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD):** 6,000 members. It was founded in 1966 and is led by Günter Deckert, who was recently convicted for spreading misinformation denying the Nazi holocaust. The leading West German neo-Nazi party of the 1960s and 1970s is now plagued by political infighting. It is unlikely to regain its former electoral strength, but some sections of the party seem to be heavily involved with militant/terrorist groups.

Sources for above information: *Antifaschistisches Autorenkollektiv, Drahtzieher im Braunen Netz* (Berlin: Edition ID-Archiv, 1992), and several issues of *Antifaschistisches Infoblatt* (Berlin), *Tageszeitung* (Berlin), and *AK: Analyse und Kritik* (Hamburg).

## Militant/Terrorist Cadre Groups

**Community of Partisans of the New Front (GdNF):** 400 members. Umbrella organization of numerous neo-Nazi groups. Its stated goals include the reconstitution of Hitler's NSDAP party, and the creation of a "Fourth Reich." Key activists include Christian Worch (Hamburg), Heinz Reisz (Hesse), and Gottfried Küssel (Austria).

**German Alternative (DA):** 1,000 members; founded in 1989 in Bremen, West Germany. With GdNF support, it became the largest neo-Nazi organization in eastern Germany, where it is heavily involved in right-wing violence. The organization lists Hitler and Goebbels as "honorary members." Banned on December 10, 1992.

**Nationalist Front:** 130 members; founded in 1985. Based in Detmold (Westphalia), the NF is plagued by factional infighting. It describes itself as "anti-capitalist" and as part of a "world-wide movement of social revolutionary liberation nationalism." Banned on November 27, 1992.

**Ku Klux Klan:** Small KKK groups have existed in West Germany for years and have recruited among U.S. military personnel. In 1991, White Knights of the KKK leader Dennis Mahon (Oklahoma) made a widely publicized visit to Germany and introduced cross-burning to his fellow white supremacists. It is unlikely that the KKK will become a major force among German neo-Nazis.

**National-Socialist German Workers Party/Reconstitution Organization (NSDAP/AO):** led by Gary Rex Lauck of Lincoln, Nebraska, with clandestine cells in several European countries. For years, Lauck has smuggled illegal German-language Nazi literature into the Fatherland. He has close contacts with key GdNF activists, and participated in the 1990 planning meeting for the neo-Nazis' "Operation East." Another key neo-Nazi contact in North America is the German-Canadian holocaust revisionist, Ernst Zündel (Toronto).



even more worrisome to Chancellor Kohl, neo-Nazi violence threatened to spiral out of control, spark international concern, and create economic repercussions. "Germany is strongly export-oriented," warned the president of the German Chamber of Industry. "The view that Germany is hostile to foreigners can seriously damage our economy."<sup>15</sup>

In late November, the Kohl government announced a crackdown on the racist violence. German police staged highly publicized raids on neo-Nazis, seizing firearms, explosives, and propaganda materials.<sup>16</sup> Within a few weeks, four small neo-Nazi groups were banned. The international media breathed a collective sigh of relief: Finally, Germany seemed to have the neo-Nazis under control. Even *New York Times* columnist A.M. Rosenthal, perhaps the sharpest critic of the German government in the U.S. corporate media, experienced "a political sensation new to me—flashes of sympathy for the German government."<sup>17</sup>

The relief, however, seems at best premature. The neo-Nazis, warned in advance of the police raids, hid their most important assets, including records, money, and possibly weapons.<sup>18</sup> Some of the banned organizations were able to regroup quickly under new names while the most dangerous cadre organizations, such as the GdNF (see p. 14), remained undisturbed.

## The Nazi Legacy in Post-War Germany

Meanwhile, based both on history and the limited official response, the far Right remains confident that the crackdown will only strengthen its movement. "This is going to backfire," exclaimed the Nazi-lawyer Jürgen Rieger, who expects that the courts will overturn the bans on technicalities. "This is enormous propaganda, the best advertising."<sup>19</sup>

Rather than strictly apply existing laws against murder, arson, and assault, the government used the crisis as an opportunity to institute a series of repressive laws. Aimed at "political extremists" and "terrorism," this legislation threatens democratic rights. That response confirmed charges from the Left that, despite wide perception that post-World War II Germany is a stable and thoroughly democratic society, the veneer of democracy is thin. Germany never experienced a successful bourgeois revolution like the U.S. War of Independence or the French Revolution. Its brief existence as a unified country (1871-1945) was dominated by authoritarian regimes, one of which carried out a genocide, marking entire peoples (primarily European Jews and Roma/Gypsies) for industrial-style extermination. Within 25 years, the German ruling class managed to initiate not



Jim Tynan/Impact Visuals

Skinhead in a village youth house, Beeskow, Germany, 1992.

one, but two World Wars (in 1914 and 1939), devastating much of Europe—with little domestic opposition. What was once the world's strongest labor movement was wiped out in 12 years of Nazi state terrorism.

Nor is there reason to expect that the courts will suddenly begin to enforce the appropriate laws against neo-Nazi criminals. In the past, the judiciary has shown remarkable leniency

15. Stephen Kinzer, "Germany Fear a Cycle of Violence and Recession," *New York Times*, January 1, 1993; Marc Fisher, "Violence Seen Hurting German Economy, Neo-Nazi Attacks 'Devastating' to Country's Image Abroad," *Washington Post*, December 1, 1992.

16. Marc Fisher, "Germany Steps Up Attack on Neo-Nazi Violence," *Washington Post*, November 28, 1992. "Germany bans — too little too late," *Searchlight*, February 1993, pp. 14-15.

17. A.M. Rosenthal, "On Banning Nazis," *New York Times*, January 8, 1993.

18. Bernd Siegler, "Halbherziger Schlag gegen Neonazis," *Tageszeitung*, January 16, 1993.

19. *Ibid.*

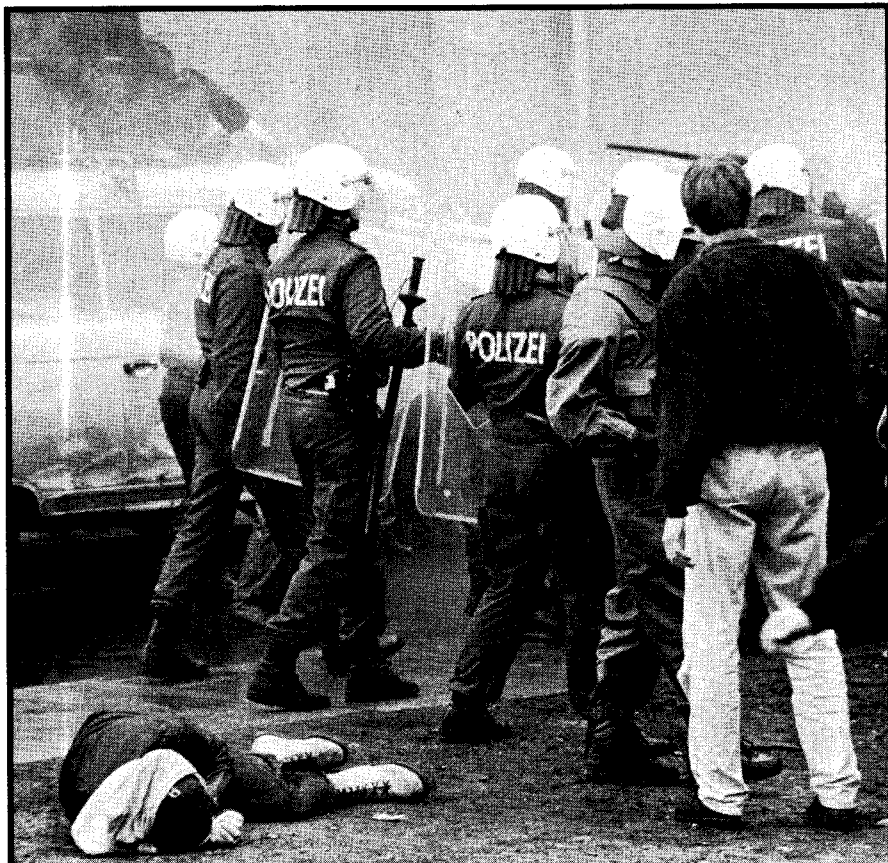
toward racist criminals, few having been sentenced to serve time. For example, most of the arsonists and rioters of Rostock who had appeared in court were sentenced to probation or jail terms of three weeks or fewer. Only one Rostock defendant received a 30-month prison term.<sup>20</sup>

Germany's authoritarian tradition and its post-World War II resistance to demilitarization were strengthened by Cold War dynamics. The Western allies' goal of creating a strong front-line state against the Soviet-dominated bloc neces-

ranking Nazi-Wehrmacht officers led West Germany's remilitarization in the 1950s. The Nazi judiciary was left virtually intact.<sup>23</sup>

Former Nazis-turned-democrats occupied central positions in various Bonn governments. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's (1949-1963) chief of staff was Hans Globke, a leading Nazi legal scholar who co-authored the official commentary on the 1935 racial laws and other anti-Jewish legislation.<sup>24</sup> Other leading German politicians with an active Nazi past include former Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, former Baden-Württemberg prime minister Hans Filbinger, and even the current Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, who was a senior officer in an infantry regiment which participated in the brutal occupation of Soviet territory during World War II, but who (like many Germans of his generation) "didn't notice" or "can't remember" any of the war crimes committed at the time.<sup>25</sup>

The president of the German Employers' Association in the 1970s, Hanns-Martin Schleyer, had been a senior SS officer until 1945, and "came to symbolize the unrepentant face of the German Establishment."<sup>26</sup> When he was kidnapped in 1977 by the leftist Red Army Faction who wanted to exchange him for imprisoned comrades, civil liberties were temporarily suspended and senior German politicians suggested that the prisoners be treated as hostages and executed in retaliation. As denazification historian Tom Bower commented on the episode, "In the political wings [in Germany] there wait men whose instinctive resort in times of danger is to intolerance and authoritarianism—and they are confident that they would have



Victim of police brutality at anti-fascist demonstration, Hoyerswerda, Germany.

sitated reinstating the old German elites and ending denazification in the Western Occupation Zones.<sup>21</sup> Giant corporations which had formed the backbone of the Nazi war machine and had profited from slave labor were left largely undisturbed. Many business leaders convicted in the Nuremberg War Crimes tribunals soon received clemency and returned to their corporate positions. The U.S. recruited leading Nazi intelligence officers, such as Reinhard Gehlen.<sup>22</sup> High-

the support of the rich and powerful if and when their time should come."<sup>27</sup>

### Organized Nazis in West Germany

With the military defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945, many leading Nazi war criminals, helped by the U.S. and the Vatican, were whisked out of the Fatherland into exile in Latin America and elsewhere. Those who remained in West Germany formed small splinter parties, as well as (ostensibly non-political) veterans' "tradition-leagues," such as the SS-

20 Stephen Kinzer, "Germans Sentence Anti-Foreign Rioter to 2-1/2 Years," *New York Times*, March 4, 1993. The *Washington Post* commented on the courts' leniency that "some of the well publicized elements of that crack-down [on the neo-Nazis in December] may have been only a show of good intentions" (Marc Fisher, "Rightists' Attacks...," *op. cit.*). See also "Courts fail to deal with nazi crime," *Searchlight*, August 1992, p. 19.

21 Tom Bower, *The Pledge Betrayed: America and Britain and the Denazification of Postwar Germany* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982).

22 Carl Oglesby, "Reinhard Gehlen: Secret Treaty of Fort Hunt," *CovertAction* #35 (Fall 1990), pp. 8-16. Gehlen later rebuilt the West German intelligence agency

23. Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

24. Robert Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 93-94.

25. Otto Köhler, "Für Führer und Vaterland," *Konkret* (Hamburg), August 1991, pp. 10-13.

26. Tom Bower, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 386.



veterans' HIAG association.<sup>28</sup> Many HIAG members still regard themselves as bound by their personal oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler, and continue to celebrate the SS as a "bulwark against bolshevism."<sup>29</sup> Many Nazis also celebrate Hitler's birthday in beer halls around the country.

Through the 1960s, these Nazi old-timers provided the bulk of support for the far Right National Democratic Party (NPD), and held seats in several state legislatures. (See p. 14.) After the NPD narrowly failed to gain representation in the 1969 federal election, it largely disappeared from the electoral map.

Following the NPD's defeat, far Right leaders realized that the "good old times" provided insufficient appeal to ensure political survival and began to re-evaluate their strategy. Dozens of small, often semi-clandestine neo-Nazi groups were founded. Some were armed, maintained a stock of explosives, and ran paramilitary training compounds. At the same time, the number of racist and anti-Semitic hate crimes reached troubling levels in West Germany. From 1980 to 1989, more than 700 neo-Nazi attacks (including bombings, arson, assaults, and robberies) took place, killing at least 36 people.<sup>30</sup> Despite this terrible toll, neo-Nazi terrorists remained politically marginalized for most of the 1970s and 1980s, and spent much of their energy on internal competition and numerous fratricidal splits.

They found a more sympathetic political-ideological climate after Helmut Kohl's conservative CDU/CSU party won the federal election in 1982. The new government set out to create a "positive German national identity," downplaying the memory of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany's war crimes. Germans should stop being ashamed of their country's history and "step out of Hitler's shadow," demanded the influential CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss. Prominent conservative German historians began to re-interpret Nazism as an essentially defensive reaction against Bolshevism.<sup>31</sup>

A defining moment in this campaign to "bring the past to a close" occurred in 1985 when Ronald Reagan commemorated the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's surrender. Despite international outcry, the U.S. president joined hands with Helmut Kohl at the West German military cemetery in Bitburg to honor the Nazi *Wehrmacht* and SS soldiers buried there.<sup>32</sup>

28. Using captured documents and membership lists, in early 1992 *Searchlight* investigated a group affiliated with the HIAG, revealing a Europe-wide network of active Nazi-SS cadre; see *Searchlight*, March 1992, pp. 3-10.

29. CDU spokesperson Manfred Wörner addressed a 1975 HIAG meeting in Stuttgart on the subject, "How secure is the Federal Republic?" Today, Wörner is secretary-general of NATO. (*Ibid.*, p. 10.)

30. Rolf Gössner, "Mit dem 'starken Staat' gegen rechts?" *AK: Analyse & Kritik* (Hamburg), November 19, 1992, p. 31.

31. Richard Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past* (New York: Pantheon, 1989).

32. Geoffrey Hartmann (ed.), *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

## Europe's Enduring Nazi Network

Every year Adolf Hitler's birthday is celebrated in beer halls and with rallies in Germany, other European countries, and the U.S. The new generation of neo-Nazis and skinheads who have taken their racism and violence to the streets in Germany have put a young face on the movement. They are but one element of an international fascist network which includes Nazi veterans of Heinrich Himmler's murderous *Waffen SS Schutzstaffel*.

A year before the war ended, some Nazis, including Himmler and Goebbels, had begun planning to keep Nazism alive. Thousands of known Nazi war criminals avoided prosecution at Nuremberg and escaped to Latin America, the U.S., and other parts of Europe. The U.S. Army, the Central Intelligence Group (which in 1947 passed the torch to the CIA), and the Vatican facilitated their escape.

In its groundbreaking investigation, the British anti-fascist journal, *Searchlight*, revealed a network of former Nazis in Western Europe. The tight-knit 400-man *Kamaradenwerk Korps Steiner* (Korps) works closely with HIAG. Named for SS Gen. Felix Steiner, it is now led by ex-SS Capt. Kurt Meyer. Korps second-in-command, ex-SS officer Heinz Mellenthin, remembered his SS days: "They were good times, the best."

*Searchlight* traced the Korps outside Germany:

**Sweden** The 1989 Korps reunion held in Walsrode, Germany was attended by 30 from Sweden. Among the Swedish Korps stalwarts are ex-*Waffen SS* recruiter, combatant, and war correspondent Sten Eriksson; former Third Panzer Corps fighter Ingemar Somberg, who once boasted that he is "not ashamed of anything"; Swedish Army deserter-turned-SS soldier Erik Wallin; and neo-Nazi Erik Rundquist, an activist in the violent Storm Network-White Aryan Resistance group.

**The Netherlands** This Korps nexus includes SS veteran Et Wolsink, "an international link man between violent neo-Nazi groups in Germany, the Netherlands, and Britain." Others are: Albert Katers and Jan Schoonderbeek of the Dutch SS's Jan Hartman Foundation; and Carel Lemoine, who has labored in the neo-Nazi fronts, the Northern League and the *Nederlandse Volks Unie*. Many Dutch Korps cadre are also part of *Viking Youth* and the *Consortium de Levensboom*.

**Norway** Each September, some 150 aged Nazis honor Hitler in the woods south of Oslo at a monument they erected "to the fallen front-line fighters and sisters in World War II." Norway's chief Korps operative is Arild Elsodd. He is joined by Ole Darbu, a force in two other fascist veterans' groups: the *Norges Demokratiske Parti* and the *Nasjonal Folkeparti*. SS veteran Eivund Saxlund chairs a parallel "aid organization for wounded front-line fighters," i.e., *Waffen SS*. Most Norwegian Korps members belong to the *Institutt for Norsk Okkupasjons-historie*, a Nazi "support group" set up after the War.

**Denmark** Many of its 150 or so Korps members live in southern Jutland, or Northern Schleswig as German nationalists call it. One leader is Christian Dall. Another, Hans Bonniksen, boasted to *Searchlight* that he fought in Russia and "all the way back to Berlin." "We were," he continued, "comrades in the *Waffen SS* and the way we survived after the war was by helping each other."

—Louis Wolf

From: "Neo-nazi circle of evil," *Searchlight*, March 1992, pp. 3-10.

# Fortress Germany: No Huddled Masses Need Apply



The rise of neo-Nazi activity in Germany is often explained by the influx of immigrants and refugees into that already densely populated country. Fears of an "immigration flood" have little rational basis. While the number of "foreigners" in Germany has roughly doubled in the past 20 years, the total population of West and East Germany combined has in fact stabilized at 79 million due to a declining native-German birth rate.

From 1955 to 1973, West German corporations, aided by the government, recruited hundreds of thousands of southern European and Turkish "guest workers." Most stayed on after Bonn imposed an end to foreign recruitment in 1973. Today, these workers and their German-born descendants make up the bulk of Germany's 6.5 million "foreigners," approximately 8 percent of the general population. (East Germany had only a miniscule immigrant population.)<sup>1</sup>

The German government maintains the legal fiction that these immigrants and their children and grandchildren will eventually return to their "homelands," and makes it close to impossible for them to acquire German citizenship. The current citizenship law has remained virtually unchanged since 1913 and defines citizens by blood-line: Being a German is a matter of having German ancestors, not of being born in Germany.

Until recently, Article 16 of the German Constitution stated unequivocally that the "politically persecuted enjoy the right to asylum" in Germany. The reality, however, has been far less liberal: From 1989-92, only about five percent of all applicants whose cases had been decided were granted political asylum.<sup>2</sup>

Photo: Romanians at the border are seized, charged \$600, and sent home by German authorities. Guben, Germany, 1993.

1. "6,5 Millionen Ausländer leben in Deutschland," *Deutschland-Nachrichten* (New York), February 19, 1993. The largest groups are Turks (1.9 million), immigrants from former Yugoslavia (916,000), and Italians (558,000).

2. "Zahl der Asylsuchenden 1992 stark gestiegen," *Deutschland-Nachrichten*,

Over the past decade, Germany has severely restricted the rights of asylum seekers, housing them in overcrowded mass camps, prohibiting travel outside the county in which their asylum case is being processed, limiting their rights to obtain legal advice and to appeal the decisions by the authorities. By concentrating asylum applicants in overcrowded camps (often abandoned military barracks), the authorities willingly or unwillingly create images of a dramatic refugee "flood."<sup>3</sup> Many refugees have protested harassment and repression with organized hunger strikes and public building takeovers. Others have chosen to stay in the country illegally, often hiding with relatives or friends.

After years of political maneuvering, the German parliament (including the opposition Social Democrats) in May 1993 granted a key neo-Nazi demand and passed a constitutional amendment that all but abolishes political asylum in Germany. Among other restrictions, the new legislation denies the right to an asylum hearing to refugees who enter Germany via a "safe third country" — a category that includes (by the parliament's definition) all countries surrounding Germany. From now on, only refugees who arrive via ship or plane non-stop from an "unsafe" country are entitled to apply — and may still be rejected. The 90 percent of all refugees who previously entered Germany overland will now be subject to immediate deportation. Although the "right to political asylum" remains in the constitution, the refugees are written out of existence.

International human rights groups condemned the new legislation. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees warned that if the German model spread, there could be a "breakdown of the international system for asylum."<sup>4</sup> Amnesty International (AI) protested that in at least 10 countries deemed "persecution-free" by the German parliament (Turkey, Liberia, Zaire, Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, India, Pakistan, Romania, and Bulgaria), political torture and murder are officially tolerated. Besides, an AI spokesperson added, the new German policy "ignores the fact that there can be individual cases of abuse even in relatively free countries."<sup>5</sup>

February 15, 1993. In 1992, 438,191 people applied for political asylum in Germany. More than half came from just two countries: the former Yugoslavia and Romania.

3. Marc Fisher, "900 Foreigners Swamp Town of 100," *Washington Post*, September 26, 1992.

4. AFP, "Kritik an Asylkompromiss," *Tageszeitung*, January 22, 1993.

5. Stephen Kinzer, "Rights Groups Attack German Plan on Refugees," *New York Times*, February 7, 1993.

## The Republikaner Party

When the Kohl government proved unable to deliver on some of its conservative campaign promises, some CDU/CSU rightwingers split in frustration, and launched a new far Right effort at electoral politics. In 1983, led by Franz Schönhuber, a former SS officer who authored the unrepentant autobiography *I Was There*, they founded a new right-wing populist party.<sup>33</sup> Soon, the aptly named *Republikaner* party mobilized thousands in huge beer hall rallies all over the country, bringing together hardcore Nazi old-timers, conservatives, and youthful representatives of the "New Right."

In their efforts to develop a modern far Right agenda, the Republikaner (like many other neo-Nazi groups in Germany) draw heavily on right-wing think tanks and intellectual publications (*Nation Europa* and *Criticon*).<sup>34</sup> Like their French and British counterparts — but unlike the Reaganite New Right in the U.S. — the German "New Right" often uses anti-capitalist rhetoric, calling for a "third way between communism and capitalism." They rejected "sterile cosmopolitanism" and the "Coca-Colonization" of European societies and advocated instead the preservation of "authentic" national identities, which are supposedly endangered by immigration and cultural cross-fertilization.<sup>35</sup> The East Germans, charged Nazi PR man Bela Ewald Althans, "have changed their old rusted chains for new golden ones. In Germany we say 'Russia stole the liberty, but America steals the soul.' ... For us national socialism is the only way out."<sup>36</sup>

Despite constant infighting, the fledgling Republikaner Party soon claimed the leading role on the German political Right. In early 1989, it took a surprising 7.5 percent of the vote for the West Berlin city council, with disproportionate support among German male youth (almost one in five male voters aged 18-23 voted Republikaner). A few months later, the party won 2 million votes (six seats) in the elections for the European parliament, where they joined their fellow neo-fascists of Jean-Marie Le Pen's French Front Populaire. The Republikaner Party received millions of dollars in public election campaign funds.

## German Unification

The reunification of the Fatherland (including the formerly German territories incorporated into Poland and Russia) had long topped the Republikaner agenda. With his adept orchestration of East Germany's incorporation into West Germany in 1990, Chancellor Kohl not only sidestepped the

reservations of the four World War II allies (U.S., Britain, France, and Soviet Union), but also coopted this favorite far Right issue.<sup>37</sup>

The neo-Nazis, however, smelled advantage in the wave of reawakened national pride that accompanied unification — especially among the many East Germans looking for a radical break with 40 years of state socialism and top-down internationalism. In January 1990, key neo-Nazi leaders met in East Berlin and developed "Operation East," a recruitment plan for East Germany. They divided the East into different organizing regions, assigned Western neo-Nazis and resources to each region, and began recruiting.<sup>38</sup>

Often the neo-Nazis used "leftist" organizing tactics, such as squatting in abandoned buildings and turning them into cultural and political centers. They organized concerts with racist skinhead ("Oi") bands, including the British neo-Nazi "Screwdriver" which became popular among many youths. The neo-Nazis infiltrated the huge "pro-democracy" marches in East German cities and were able to give them a decidedly nationalist tone.<sup>39</sup> Soon they could mobilize hundreds of

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***"The East Germans have changed their old rusted chains for new golden ones. We say 'Russia stole the liberty, but America steals the soul.' ...For us national socialism is the only way out."***

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disciplined militant cadre in street demonstrations and incite large-scale attacks against immigrants and refugees.

It took more than tactical skill to stimulate the neo-Nazi resurgence. Unification provided the necessary ideological climate. The post-war era was defined for many Germans by military defeat and the division of the Fatherland. With this new era, Germany could finally claim its "rightful place" in the international community and discard its Nazi past. The new attitude has been quickly endorsed by, among others, the formerly liberal newsweekly, *Der Spiegel*. In 1990, it editorialized that "Prussia-Germany was no more anti-semitic than France or Poland, even during the years 1933 to 1945," a whitewash of the Nazi holocaust that was virtually unthinkable only a few years ago, but now met with almost no public protest.<sup>40</sup>

*(continued on p. 66)*

33. Gordon Craig, "The Rising Star of the German Right," *New York Review of Books*, June 15, 1989, pp. 22-24; Hans-Georg Betz, "Politics of Resentment: Right-Wing Radicalism in West Germany," *Comparative Politics*, October 1990, pp. 45-60.

34. One of the leading German far Right think tanks is the Munich-based Siemens Foundation, which is controlled by the multinational high-tech Siemens Corporation. See Peter Kratz, ed., *In bester Gesellschaft: Antifa-Recherche zwischen Konservatismus und Neofaschismus* (Göttingen: Verlag Werkstatt, 1991), pp. 33-82.

35. "Die Neue Rechte," *Antifaschistisches Infoblatt* #18, May/June 1992, pp. I-VI. Paul Gordon and Francesca Klug, *New Right, New Racism* (London: Searchlight Publications, 1986).

36. Martin A. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

37. Serge Schmemmann, "Far-Right Party Loses Steam As Unity Enchants Germans," *New York Times*, March 30, 1990; Hans-Georg Betz, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

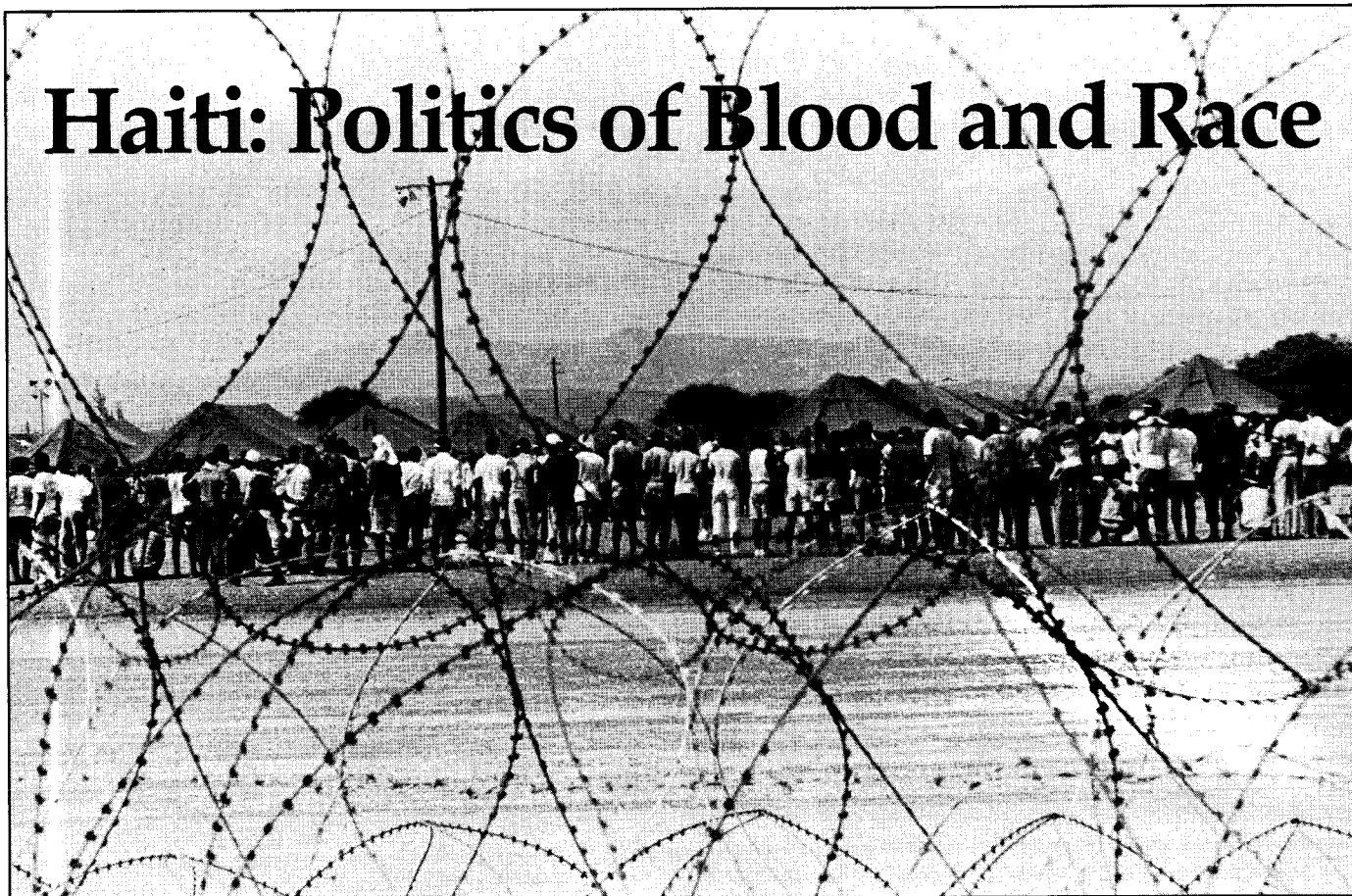
38. Antifaschistisches Autorenkollektiv, *Drahtzieher im Braunen Netz* (Berlin: Edition ID-Archiv, 1992), pp. 67-74, 85-109.

39. Leonard Zeskind, "German reunification spurs far right organizing, activity," *The Monitor* #19 (Atlanta), May 1990, pp. 1-2, 11-12.

40. Cited in Peter Jensen, "Der Spiegel: Racial Nationalism Goes Mainstream in a German Newsweekly," *Extra!* (New York), July-August 1992, p. 32.



# Haiti: Politics of Blood and Race



Dan Coughlin

*Blood was one of Haiti's few valuable exports. Once highly prized by U.S. corporations and research facilities for its richness in antibodies, it is now the rationale for interning hundreds of HIV seropositive Haitian political refugees and their family members in a remote and desolate corner of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. There, for over a year, men, women, and children, guilty only of being ill, face military brutality and medical abuse.*

Marie-Claude Joseph raised her arm, pulled up the plastic, bar-coded identification bracelet fastened to her wrist, and pointed to her veins. "Our blood," said the 32-year-old woman from Aux Cayes, Haiti, as a crowd of people surrounding her raised their voices in agreement. "They always want to take our blood." If they do not cooperate, the refugees report, their blood is forcibly drawn.

"They say they need to take it, but it's just for business," added Jean Benedict, who at 36 years can remember the days in the early 1970s when five tons of plasma were shipped monthly from Haiti to U.S. hospitals and labs. "AIDS is just an accusation," he continued. "They're using it for political reasons."

That the Haitians incarcerated in Guantanamo are skeptical of U.S. intentions is hardly surprising. Crowded 15 to 20 people in ramshackle wooden barracks, dubbed "Southeast Asia huts" or "hooches" by the military, and surrounded by razor wire fences, guard towers, and armed soldiers, the refugees have faced repeated military brutalities and medical abuses. On at least three occasions, hundreds of heavily-armed troops in full combat riot gear with military dogs, and sometimes backed up by tanks, warplanes, and helicopters, have suppressed their unarmed protests. "Troublemakers" are singled out and thrown into special, open-air jails for months at a time.<sup>1</sup>

Dan Coughlin is an editor at the New York bureau of Inter Press Service.

Photo: Jim Tynan/Impact Visuals. Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, Cuba, refugee camp.

1. Author's interviews with refugees and camp commander, December 10, 1992, and with the Joint Task Force (JTF) public affairs office in Norfolk, Virginia. The military concedes the "show of force."

"The whole atmosphere was that these people were prisoners of war," recalled Donovan Cole, an Air Force E-4 security policeman posted to Guantanamo. "The way they were treated, the way they were fed, the way they were locked down, it was really shocking to me." Cole himself was arrested in mid-July 1992, fined and discharged for refusing to accept his weapon during a protest at the camp.<sup>2</sup>

### Medical Care Inadequate

By the U.S. government's own admission, medical care at the base is inadequate and coercively dispensed. The refugees do not know what drugs they are being given or why. Before it received FDA approval as a contraceptive, U.S. medical personnel administered Depo Provera to women without their informed consent. Among the powerful side effects experienced by many women at Guantanamo have been months of continuous vaginal bleeding.<sup>3</sup>

Two white, non-Creole speaking doctors — a family practitioner and an infectious disease specialist — are posted on rotation to the base. Disregarding protocol requiring close monitoring, they dispense thousands of doses of highly toxic drugs with questionable medical value, such as AZT.<sup>4</sup>

Originally, 294 political refugees were interned at Camp Bulkeley, the HIV detention camp at Guantanamo. Beginning in September 1992, the government released pregnant women into the U.S. as well as some 25 of the sickest refugees. It took a court order in late March, however, to force the government to free another 51 refugees with AIDS. For the roughly 170 refugees remaining, many of whom have been on the base since November 1991, the legal battles in the U.S. and the lamentations of doctors mean little. As Marie-Claude Joseph put it, "What did I do wrong to be put in this jail?"

2. Interview with Donovan Cole, December 1992.

3. On inadequate medical care at the base: interview with Dr. Hal Hill, infectious disease specialist at Guantanamo, December 10, 1992. On coercion: interviews with refugees, interpreters, and U.S. civilian workers; see also memo from Centers for Disease Control official, Dr. Paul Effler, to Charles McCance, Director, Division of Quarantine, March 1, 1992, on lack of informed consent and the "potential for a public health disaster at Guantanamo." (Plaintiff's Exhibit #23, *Haitian Centers Council v. Sales*, Eastern District of New York, 92 CV 1258.) On Depo Provera: interviews with refugees and information provided by National Black Women's Health Project, Washington, D.C.

All court documents and depositions cited in this article are available from the ACLU's Immigrant Rights Project and the Center for Constitutional Rights, both located in New York.

4. Many HIV-positive people have refused treatment with AZT, especially

### The HIV Border

After Haiti's first democratically-elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was overthrown in a bloody September 1991 coup, the new military regime sponsored a wave of violence and retaliation against people suspected of supporting Aristide's *Lavalas* movement. Peasant organizations, community groups, trade unions, student groups, women's organizations, and church base communities met particularly brutal repression.<sup>5</sup> More than 2,000 cases of state-sponsored murder have been documented by the Haiti-based Platform for Human Rights since the coup, and tens of thousands have been arrested, jailed, or tortured. Left with no alternative, thousands went into hiding and thousands more fled the country.

Between November 1991 and May 1992, U.S. Coast Guard ships picked up 39,000 of those who fled by sea and



Jim Tynan/Impact Visuals

**Refugees at Guantanamo, some of whom are HIV-positive, live in prison-like conditions.**

transported them to Guantanamo for medical and political examination. Eventually, some 11,000 Haitians were deemed "political refugees," screened for excludable illnesses (gonorrhea, leprosy, syphilis, active TB, and HIV, among others), and sent to the mainland U.S. The remainder were forcibly repatriated to Haiti.

The internment of the Haitians has its roots in the U.S. government's controversial 1987 HIV border exclusion policy, which bars HIV-positive travelers and immigrants from the country. Although waivers are available at the discretion

in early stages of the disease. For further information on the AZT controversy, see Lawrence K. Altman, "New Study Questions Use of AZT In Early Treatment of AIDS Victims," *New York Times*, April 2, 1993.

5. See, for example, *Silencing a People: The Destruction of Civil Society in Haiti*, by Americas Watch and the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees,

of the Attorney General, few are granted. Rights groups, international organizations, and even top Bush administration officials have sharply criticized the HIV border policy and the HIV camp, charging that they violate international refugee accords, U.S. public health regulations, and basic human rights.<sup>6</sup>

In fact, the 1987 Reagan HIV exclusion policy retards the fight against AIDS by "reaffirming inordinate and inappropriate fear of HIV infected persons, and inciting discrimination against these individuals," according to the President's National Commission on AIDS.<sup>7</sup>

Even though the Public Health Service was intimately involved in the HIV screening program at Guantanamo and the formation of the HIV camp, Bush administration Assistant Secretary for Health James Mason questioned the policy: "Housing so many immunosuppressed individuals in close proximity to one another in a camp environment presents substantial risks," he wrote to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) last March, "...to the HIV-infected persons as well as their families and the health care and other support personnel."

The Clinton and Bush administrations have both remained intransigent, arguing that HIV is a public health threat. Summing up the government's position, Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesperson Duke Austin insists that the HIV quarantine is necessary to safeguard the health of INS and military personnel at the base and the U.S. public. "These people pose some danger to the population which they can contaminate and we say that the uninfected must be protected," Austin insists. "We have hostiles for people who are HIV infected who are held as a group," he argued. Asked by the Associated Press why four extremely ill refugees at Guantanamo with AIDS were being denied entry for emergency medical care, he replied: "They're going to die anyway, aren't they?"<sup>8</sup>



Keith Enack

**The U.S. repatriated Haitians who were seeking asylum from political repression. On return some face harassment, torture, and death at the hands of the repressive military government.**

### Haiti and Disease

Since winning independence in 1804 from France, Haiti has had a profound symbolic and concrete influence in the Americas. The second republic in the hemisphere, Haiti, like the U.S., was born of popular revolution. The Haitian rebels, however, were black slaves. The impact that this first successful slave revolt had on the plantation system, the world economy, and the institution of slavery itself can hardly be overstated. "Speaking for the Negro... we owe much to [David] Walker for his appeal; to John Brown for the blow struck at Harper's Ferry, to [Benjamin] Lundy and [William Lloyd] Garrison, and to the abolitionists in all the countries of the world," Frederick Douglass told a Chicago crowd in 1893. "But we owe incomparably more to Haiti than to them all."<sup>9</sup>

Because of its power to inspire, Haiti threatened the 19th century colonial powers and they made it a pariah state. "Few countries have been more marked by association with endemic infectious disease than Haiti. Syphilis was referred to by the Spanish as 'the sickness of Hispaniola,' believing it to have come from what is now Haiti when Columbus returned from his voyage to the Americas," noted historian Paul Farmer. "The entire 19th century was pocked with European and North American assessments of Haiti that described it as full of filthy, disease-ridden, cannibalistic savages."<sup>10</sup>

6. Hiram Ruiz, "U.S. HIV Policy Puts Refugees at Risk," unpublished Op-Ed, U.S. Committee for Refugees, Washington, D.C., 1991.

7. National Commission on AIDS, "Statement on Immigration," "Background Information: HIV Disease and Immigration," July 1991.

8. Richard Cole, "Guantanamo-Haitians," Associated Press, December 12, 1993.

9. *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, Vol. 5 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 528.

10. Paul Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 237.





Keith Emack

**The Ton Ton Macoute rule the streets under the regime that ousted democratically-elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Here they threaten the photographer and bystanders with machetes.**

16 out of the 45 countries/areas in the Americas polled by WHO reported higher rates of AIDS than Haiti, including the U.S.<sup>12</sup>

Examining AIDS rates in other Caribbean regions is not to suggest that Haiti does not face an AIDS crisis, but rather that the patterns of HIV seroprevalence and transmission bear little correlation to those suggested by the U.S. mass media, the INS, and the CDC. Transmission in the Caribbean is closely tied, along with such factors as poverty and underdevelopment, to economic relations with the U.S. The five

In the early 1980s, as the AIDS crisis took root, the medical establishment and mass media summoned these old ghosts. Scientific journals, such as the CDC's *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* were instrumental in fostering the myth that Haiti is a source of AIDS and that Haitians are AIDS "carriers." The mass media dutifully played out stereotypes such as voodoo blood rituals, perverse black sexuality, steamy and disease-infested Caribbean islands. The result: Haitians in the U.S. were fired from their jobs, attacked in schools, evicted from their homes, and segregated in jails.<sup>11</sup>

The stigmatization of Haitians subsided in the mid- to late-1980s in the wake of AIDS activism that challenged the official notion of the "4 H's" (homosexuals, heroin addicts, hemophiliacs, and Haitians). In 1990, however, the Food and Drug Administration renewed the attack by banning blood donations by *all* Haitians and sub-Saharan Africans. Following sustained protests, including a massive April 1990 New York City demonstration by an estimated 100,000 Haitians and their supporters, the FDA completely withdrew the ban at the end of the year.

Singling out Haitians has no basis in fact. Indeed, many of Haiti's neighboring countries have higher AIDS rates. World Health Organization (WHO) statistics (1979-90) for the Caribbean region show that the Bahamas, French Guiana, Bermuda, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago all had higher rates of AIDS cases than Haiti. And in 1990 alone, some

Caribbean countries with the largest number of AIDS cases by 1986—the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, Mexico and Haiti—were also the five most dependent on the U.S. for their exports. "The map of HIV in the New World," writes Farmer, "reflects to an important degree the geography of U.S. neocolonialism."<sup>13</sup>

### **The Worst Thing I Ever Saw In My Life**

Frantz Guerrier ran a small dental practice in Cité Soleil, a pro-Aristide neighborhood in Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. After the September 1991 coup, the Army targeted Guerrier, a *Lavalas* supporter, and burned down his dental office. Soldiers killed his mother and child, and kidnapped his wife, who was later found dead.

On Christmas eve, Guerrier fled Haiti by boat and was picked up by a U.S. Coast Guard ship and brought to Guantanamo. There, he joined a burgeoning tent city—Camp McCalla—which sheltered thousands of refugees. He stood in long lines under the hot Caribbean sun, waiting for MREs (Meals Ready to Eat) left over from the Gulf War. Teams of CDC doctors checked him for disease and administered some vaccinations.

As was standard practice, the INS officers interrogated Guerrier to assess the validity of his claim of political per-

11. See Farmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-20.

12. "Update: AIDS Cases Reported to Surveillance, Forecasting and Impact Assessment Unit (SFI)," Office of Research, Global Program on AIDS, World Health Organization (WHO), Geneva, July 1, 1992.

13. Farmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-61.

secution. Once "screened-in," he was given a blood test for HIV, and told to await transfer to Miami. Guerrier thought he was on his way when he was eventually brought in early March to Camp Bulkeley. But when he arrived at what was supposed to have been a transit point, it had already been transformed into an HIV segregation camp.

U.S. Marine Brigadier General George Walls, the commander of the Joint Task Force (JTF) running the refugee screening program at Guantanamo, made the final decision to create the HIV camp in early March 1992 after input from the CDC. He had already separated the "screened-in" from the "screened-out" in a series of different camps and even tried, for "moral" reasons, to segregate the women refugees from the men. But it was for medical and security reasons that the General decided to create the HIV camp.<sup>14</sup>

Guerrier was not informed why he was in Bulkeley, or what his test result was. He only discovered his possible HIV status after doctors decided he should be retested. After Dr. Paul Effler, a CDC official at Guantanamo, calculated an error rate in the first round of testing at 85 times greater than normal, he ordered a mass one-day blood drawing for 1,700 refugees.<sup>15</sup> "Many of us resisted [the second test]," said Guerrier. "In my case, two MPs pinned my arms as the medical person took the blood."<sup>16</sup> Because of his resistance, Guerrier and some 88 others were forcibly repatriated to Haiti, according to the New York-based National Coalition for Haitian Refugees.

A month later, in mid-April, authorities finally informed some internees of test results. On Good Friday, said Father Jacques Fabre, a Haitian priest who worked at the base, more than 100 internees were told they were being flown to Miami. They were herded into a hangar, surrounded by armed guards, and publicly told of their HIV status. "You can imagine," said Fabre, "people were crying and screaming."<sup>17</sup>

Ellen Powers, a civilian worker with the Community Relations Service, the refugee resettlement arm of the Justice Department, also witnessed the scene that followed. "The next thing you knew," she said, "the military showed up in their riot gear. They surrounded the place, in the stairwells, up on the second floor. ...It was the worst thing that I ever, ever saw in my life."<sup>18</sup>

The justification for informing people *en masse*, in direct contravention of standard HIV testing and counseling procedures, was that Haitians were different from Americans. "[We] found that in group they tended to be more at ease and in group they would be able to ask questions that one person might



Marilyn Humphries/Impact Visuals

Thousands gather in Boston to hear Aristide and call for his reinstatement.

ask that might answer the question for other people," explained Dr. William Ebbeling, a U.S. Navy doctor posted to Guantanamo between April and July 1992.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, those political refugees who refused to have their second blood tests were sent back to Haiti. "Many migrants [are] belligerent about repat," noted the cable from a U.S. Coast Guard cutter bringing some back to Port-au-Prince. "Migrants stated they would rather die aboard the ship than

14. Trial testimony of Gen. Walls, *HCC v. Sales*, Brooklyn Federal Court, March 1993.

15. Deposition of Paul Effler, June 10, 1992, *Plaintiff's Exhibit #77*, *HCC v. Sales*.

16. Deposition of Frantz Guerrier, March 1992.

17. Author's telephone interview with Father Fabre in the *batayes* (sugar cane fields) of the Dominican Republic, August 1992.

18. Author's interview, March 1993.

19. Deposition of Dr. William Ebbeling, March 10, 1993.

die as political refugees in Haiti. Fire hoses were charged and a few Haitians were physically escorted off the ship."<sup>20</sup>

The Haitians' fear was well-founded. Local police or army often fingerprinted and photographed repatriated Haitians, confiscated their Guantanamo ID cards and arrested some. One Coast Guard cutter reported in December 1992: "There was a continuous and distinct presence of armed military/police authority both uniformed and plain clothed during the off load. Weapons brandished by Haitian authorities included semi-automatic pistols, revolvers, pump shotguns and an M-60 machine gun."<sup>21</sup>

Back on Guantanamo, the implications of the HIV camp became quickly apparent to the thousands of refugees awaiting screening: It was a "death camp." "Some people were so afraid of going to Bulkeley, they had to be forcibly handcuffed and dragged, crying and kicking. It was brutal," said Father Fabre.<sup>22</sup>

### PsyOps at Guantanamo

One of the reasons for the HIV screening program, according to the New York-based National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, was simply a continuation of a long-standing U.S. anti-Haitian policy. "The U.S. government wanted to limit people coming to the U.S. for political asylum," said spokesperson Jocelyn McCalla, "so they threw all these things in their way." During the previous wave of Haitians fleeing the country between 1981 and 1990, when nearly 25,000 Haitians were interdicted, none was ever tested for HIV, said McCalla.<sup>23</sup> Even so, during this period of ruthless, well-documented Duvalier repression, only eight Haitians were "screened-in" as possible asylum seekers. Tellingly, 20 people were granted preliminary asylum during President Aristide's eight months in office.<sup>24</sup> Faced with those fleeing the post-Aristide military regime, the Bush administration opened part of its naval base at Guantanamo for refugee processing in November 1991.

20. *Plaintiff's Exhibit #34*, U.S. Coast Guard cable, April 29, 1992, *HCC v. Sales*.

21. *Plaintiff's Exhibit #69*, U.S. Coast Guard cable, December 1, 1992, *HCC v. Sales*.

22. Author's interview, August 1992.

23. Author's interview, August 1992. If a person living abroad can document a credible fear of political or religious persecution, the U.S. must grant refugee status under immigration law. Those claiming persecution at or within U.S. borders are considered "asylum seekers." The law has been inconsistently applied so that persecution of those who had fled U.S. client states (Haiti, El Salvador) is not recognized. Meanwhile, those who had left such U.S. enemy states as the former USSR, Nicaragua under the Sandinistas, and Cuba received almost automatic asylum or refugee status.

24. Bill Frelick, "Haitians at Sea: Asylum Denied," *Report on the Americas*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, July 1992, p. 34.

Running the operation was the Joint Task Force (JTF), a combined Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine operation, along with the INS and the Public Health Service (PHS). The State Department was also involved in the decision making.<sup>25</sup> Originally, thousands of Haitians were screened into the U.S. In early January, as thousands fled post-coup Haiti, the rate of applicants approved for entry into the U.S. reached 80 percent. But after a "clarification on how to view certain situations," INS officer Scott Busby told lawyers for the refugees, the rate dropped to 60 percent by mid-January. By early February it fell to 40 percent, which was still too high for Washington. INS investigator Gunther Wagner was dispatched to Guantanamo to inform INS officers that 95 percent of asylum claims were fraudulent and that if Haitians don't "look you in the eye," that should affect the "determination."<sup>26</sup>

Over the course of his career with the U.S. government, Wagner became familiar with human rights abuses. Having served in Hitler's army, he was recruited out of post-World War II occupied Germany by the U.S. Army's security police. He was posted to Vietnam in 1966 as the senior public safety adviser under the U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Public Safety. That agency, created by the CIA in 1955, trained

the Vietnamese national police which arrested, tortured, and murdered tens of thousands of people. In 1971, Wagner moved on to Managua as senior public safety adviser to the Somoza dictatorship.<sup>27</sup>

Even more desirable than assessing and rejecting asylum claims or interning ill Haitians was encouraging those at Guantanamo to return home "voluntarily." Even decisions on what food to give the refugees were framed on whether it would increase "voluntary repatriations."<sup>28</sup> The encouragements also included techniques usually classified as psychological warfare. The propaganda campaign was disseminated through a camp newspaper, the PA system, a radio station, and verbally by soldiers, always clothed in "battle dress uniforms." Non-controllable sources of information accessible to the refugees, such as Voice of America

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*"The map of HIV in  
the New World,  
reflects to an  
important degree the  
geography of U.S.  
neocolonialism."*

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—Paul Farmer

25. See deposition of Capt. Norman Glen Berree, the Western Hemisphere Branch Chief for the operations directorate of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on agencies involved in decision making, *Plaintiff's Exhibit #72*, *HCC v. Sales*.

26. Deposition of Scott Busby, *Plaintiff's Exhibit #75*, *HCC v. Sales*.

27. John Canham-Clyne, "Uncle Sam's Blind Eye," *In These Times*, February 22, 1993. In 1982, Wagner went to work with the INS as a staff officer at the Krome detention center, Miami, and became chief administrator in 1985. Since 1988, he has been Senior Intelligence Officer of INS's southern regional office in Dallas.

28. "Letter of Instruction for the Elimination of the Noon MRE Meal from the Migrant Meal," February 26, 1992, noting the "potential for increased voluntary repats," *Plaintiff's Exhibit #21*, *HCC v. Sales*.



(VOA) broadcasts, were reviewed and, if necessary, censored. "In order to ensure the safety and well-being of the Haitians," said a JTF memo, "material in the VOA broadcasts that might be unnecessarily upsetting and contrary to good order in the camps is excised from the broadcast." The VOA specifically authorized the JTF to "delete objectionable material on a segment basis," according to the memo.<sup>29</sup>

The refugee camp newspaper, first titled *Sa K'Pase* and then *N'Ap Boule*, after the Creole greeting and response, was published in Creole and English. It channeled JTF information to the refugees, and served to intimidate and frighten the thousands undergoing screening.

*N'Ap Boule* contrasted reports of progress in Haiti with those of difficult conditions within the U.S. The June 8 edition led with a piece about a U.S. judge upholding the forced repatriations of Haitian "migrants." It followed up with stories on Haitian "migrants" killed in a car crash on their way to a labor camp; U.S. inflation fears; job losses from the recession; an increase in child poverty; and, a feature story on racism in the U.S. Other issues also exploited fears of U.S. racism and ran ads encouraging people to go back to Haiti for carnival. Even the word-search puzzle chanted the theme of "repatriation." The February 23 edition coldly warned the refugees: "Don't doubt for a minute that all the screened-out people will be returned to Haiti. We will not leave any here in prison. ...If you must insist on returning home in handcuffs, that can be arranged. So it is written, so it shall be done." The U.S. forces also used the psyops techniques it had mounted against Gen. Manuel Noriega following the U.S. invasion of Panama. "They would play really loud music to aggravate [the refugees] and create stress," said Ellen Powers. "They were trying to get voluntary repatriations."<sup>30</sup>

### Protest and Repression

In late May 1992, President Bush ended the refugee screening program at Guantanamo by declaring that all Haitians were "economic refugees" and would be forcibly repatriated. As the military began to close down the program, "[a]ll of us on the base mobilized to stage a peaceful march where everyone was crying because the pain was unbearable," wrote the internees in a letter to the New York-based National Coalition for Haitian Refugees. "We said words so that they could feel and understand that we can no longer live under these conditions." After a fight erupted July 17 between soldiers guarding the camp and some of the refugees,

a full-scale riot broke out. Troops were stoned, the entrance to the camp was barricaded, and a fire truck, used to hose down the Haitians, was smashed. The next day, as a helicopter hovered overhead and two jet planes swept down low over the camp, hundreds of troops moved into the compound, smashing the refugees' living quarters, and handcuffing and arresting dozens. Refugees say many were beaten. "We thought we were going to die without our families being able to recover our bodies," wrote the refugees.<sup>31</sup> While publicly denying abuses, and insisting they are on a "humanitarian mission," the military was privately alarmed about the HIV camp. "Creation of a 'penal' environment within the camp presents the opportunity for heavy criticism from migrant support and humanitarian organizations. We have reached the

point where such an environment stretches the margin of the interpretation of our humanitarian mission," wrote Brigadier General Richard Neal in a cable to his superiors following the July protests.<sup>32</sup>

Despite its concern, the military did nothing to improve camp conditions. Instead, relations between the detainees and the military deteriorated. On August 29, the Camp Bulkeley refugees organized to free dozens of their compatriots who were detained in nearby Camp 7. Ringed in barbed wire, this facility contained a series of open-air isolation cells which had no bedding. According to the military, 50 people at Bulkeley tore down a ply-

wood movie screen to span the barbed wire fence. Simultaneously, the prisoners in Camp 7 broke up a wooden shower facility to bridge their razor wire boundary. About 13 escaped into Bulkeley. The U.S. forces responded by again surrounding the camp with hundreds of heavily-armed troops and three tanks. They then arbitrarily jailed "troublemakers." The military says that the refugees set fire to 12 buildings, completely destroying seven.<sup>33</sup>

Tensions at the camp eventually subsided in September with the appointment of a new commander who permitted telephone calls, consultation with lawyers, and, after a First Amendment lawsuit—backed by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—allowed restricted press visits. It was the election of Bill Clinton, though, with his promises to lift the HIV ban, that inspired the beleaguered Haitians to wait a little longer.<sup>34</sup>

The hopes that the election of Bill Clinton inspired were soon deflated when, on January 14, the new president reneged on his promises to change the U.S. policy toward Haitian refugees. Angry and desperate, the refugees renewed

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*"The question of  
immigration and  
immigrants diverts  
attention...from the  
real issues of the  
epidemic in this  
country."*

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—Dr. Jonathan Mann

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29. "For Use in Response to Query Concerning VOA Broadcasts in GTMO Camps," JTF Memo, January 7, 1992. *Plaintiff's Exhibit #15, HCC v. Sales.*

30. Author's interview, March 1993.

31. Letter to National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, New York, July 27, 1992.

32. *Plaintiff's Exhibit #65, HCC v. Sales.*

33. Author's interview with Lt. Comdr. Gordon Hume, September 1992.

34. On press ban: see "HIV Prisoners," *The Nation*, November 30, 1992.

their protests. On January 29, in a final bid for liberty, they launched a hunger strike. The hunger strike lasted for more than a month before the military moved in to break it. On March 13, after an escape attempt by 11 people, 400 soldiers surrounded the makeshift prison camp at 5:00 a.m., marched through the sleeping quarters, and dragged people naked from their beds for a "head count." They beat more than a dozen refugees and threw 39 people, including pregnant women, a one-year-old infant, and a seven-year-old boy in the Navy brig, according to Allan Ebert, an attorney for the refugees and Nicole Payen, an interpreter, who were both at Guantanamo at the time. At least 10 women were vaginally searched for "weapons," said Ebert and Payen.<sup>35</sup>

### Logically Inconsistent and Cruel

The response of the Clinton administration has only been to continue what candidate Clinton called "a cruel policy" toward Haitian refugees. With news of the 270 Haitians quarantined at Guantanamo in the headlines, the U.S. Senate voted on February 18, with no opposition from the White House, to put into law the 1987 regulation barring HIV-positive immigrants from entering the country. Yet despite this apparent panic over AIDS "contamination" in the halls of Congress, the HIV ban is selectively applied. Each year 16 million foreign tourists and 275 million short trips to the U.S. by Mexicans and Canadians take place. Neither they nor Cuban asylum seekers, such as those who are picked up by U.S. Coast Guard cutters, are ever screened for HIV before entering the mainland U.S.<sup>36</sup> And although the cost of AIDS care is always cited by proponents of the ban, immigrants or travelers with far more expensive illnesses are allowed entry. The U.S. Public Health Service estimates that the cost of treating a person with AIDS from diagnosis to death is roughly \$80,000, far less than the alarmist \$250,000 per person bandied about by Senator Don Nickles (R-Okla.).<sup>37</sup> By contrast, end stage kidney disease costs around \$175,000 and resuscitating a person with a heart attack \$150,000.<sup>38</sup>

The prevailing public health perspective is that immigration and travel restrictions for HIV-positive people are ineffective, wasteful, and counter-productive. "There are at least a million HIV infected people in the U.S.," argues Dr. Jonathan Mann, director of the International AIDS Center at Harvard University. "The addition of relatively small numbers of HIV infected people...would make a negligible contribution to the public health situation in the country." More importantly, he warns, is that "the question of immigration and immigrants diverts attention substantially from the real issues of the epidemic in this country."<sup>39</sup>

35. Author's interview, March 14, 1993.

36. Data on visitors to U.S. and screening of HIV travelers, immigrants and refugees provided by Public Health Service and U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

37. *Congressional Record*, February 18, 1993, p. S1762.

38. Author's interview with Fred Hellinger, Agency for Health Care Policy and Research, April 1993; AP, *New York Times*, March 21, 1993.

39. Testimony of Dr. Mann at *HCC v. Sales*, Brooklyn Federal Court, March 10, 1993.

Indeed, only .01 percent of immigrants and .06 percent of all refugees hoping to reside in the U.S. between 1987 and 1990 were HIV-positive, according to Bill Grigg of the U.S. Public Health Service. "To the extent the public is led to believe it is foreigners that pose the risk," notes Mann, "this is in every instance a severe distortion of reality."<sup>40</sup>

Both the Clinton and Bush administrations have remained uncompromising, spending vast sums on what critics say is the policy's logical outcome—the Guantanamo HIV prison. Simply feeding and housing the refugees costs around \$1,200 per person per month, according to JTF spokesperson Lieutenant Commander Gordon Hume.<sup>41</sup> The figure does not include the cost of building the camp, posting 300 military personnel there for more than a year, nor defending it in court for the past year — a total cost well into the tens of millions of dollars.<sup>42</sup>

### Resistance Continues

The pre-dawn raid on the camp in March coincided with a federal trial in Brooklyn, New York, on the legality of detaining the Haitians. While advocates for the refugees believe the judge will rule favorably, there is a widespread view that the government will appeal the case all the way to the Supreme Court. The future of the HIV prison, though, may be decided by the solidarity movement that has sprung up in the U.S. in support of the refugees at Guantanamo. More than 40 universities and colleges nationwide have launched relay hunger strikes and other protests in support of the Haitians. Operation Harriet Tubman is the largest student mobilization since the anti-racist and anti-apartheid actions of the mid-1980s. Coalitions of AIDS activists, moved by the threat of the first HIV prison organized by the U.S. government, and Haitian organizations have also been launched in several cities, notably Miami, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

Whatever the end result, the Guantanamo HIV prison has become emblematic both of an increasing trend toward the criminalization of people with HIV and those with AIDS, and of the attempts to use the AIDS crisis to exert social control. Moreover, it also provides an important insight into what the U.S. government may do in Haiti if a military intervention does occur. Already, the Atlantic Command of the U.S. Navy, the primary military force behind the Guantanamo refugee program, has publicly announced its plans to launch a "nation-building" exercise in the Caribbean country.<sup>43</sup>

As Yolande Jean, a leader of the refugees and a mother of two who fled Haiti after being tortured by the military, has said, "What I suffered through at Guantanamo was far worse than anything in Haiti."

40. Testimony of Mann, *op. cit.*

41. Author's interview, April 1993.

42. Author's interview with attorney Michael Ratner, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York, April 1992.

43. See "Pentagon-Haiti," Associated Press, April 13, 1993; see also April Oliver, "The Military Humanitarian Complex," *In These Times*, March 22, 1993.

# The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs

Abdeen Jabara

**F**or decades, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has run a private nationwide spy network — a systematic, long-term, professionally organized political espionage operation complete with informers, infiltrators, money laundering, code names, wiretapping, and secret meetings. While it is not unusual for private political groups to gather information, the ADL spying is different. It is not only the scale which sets it apart — files on 950 organizations and nearly 10,000 individuals — but the focus. The ADL spied on groups which opposed its stated goals as well as those which supported its principles. More disturbing, however, is the League's collaboration with state, federal, and foreign intelligence gathering entities. This sharing of often confidential information and resources is not only illegal, but a violation of trust, a threat to civil liberties, and an infringement on the right to privacy.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has won a long-standing public reputation as an opponent of anti-Semitism, defender of minority rights, and promoter of racial justice. In January 1993, a less benign dimension of ADL surfaced. San Francisco newspapers broke the story of 24-year police officer Tom Gerard, who kept computerized files on thousands of Arab-Americans, 36 Arab organizations, 33 anti-apartheid organizations, 412 "pinko" organizations, 349 right-wing organizations, and 35 skinhead groups.

Gerard worked closely with Roy Bullock, a full-time salaried undercover investigator for ADL for the past 32 years. Bullock's records were even more extensive than Gerard's, with files on 77 Arab organizations, 647 "pinko"

and anti-apartheid organizations, 612 right-wing organizations and 27 skinhead groups.

The spy network to which Gerard and Bullock belonged is headquartered in the ADL's New York office under ADL director of "fact-finding," Irwin Suall, and his deputy, Thomas Halpern. As the League's chief West Coast undercover operative, Bullock maintained numerous contacts with law enforcement and federal officials, recruited informers, and worked with ADL operatives in other cities.

The ADL, which has a \$34 million annual budget has openly acknowledged compiling files on "extremist hate groups" and supplying reports on them to law enforcement agencies. Richard Hirschhaut, executive director of the ADL Central Pacific Region, also admitted that "the ADL does keep files on Arab-American groups or individuals who espouse anti-Jewish views or take credit for anti-Jewish acts."<sup>1</sup>

Abdeen Jabara is an attorney in Michigan. He is a former president and current national vice-chair of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). He won a 12-year battle against FBI surveillance and forced the Bureau to destroy its files and admit that he had violated no laws and had merely exercised his constitutional rights. Reprints of this article from: ADC, 4201 Connecticut Ave., NW, #500, Washington, D.C. 20008.

1. Garth Wolkoff, "ADL Denies Wrongdoing in SFPD in Files-For-Sale Case," *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, January 22, 1993.



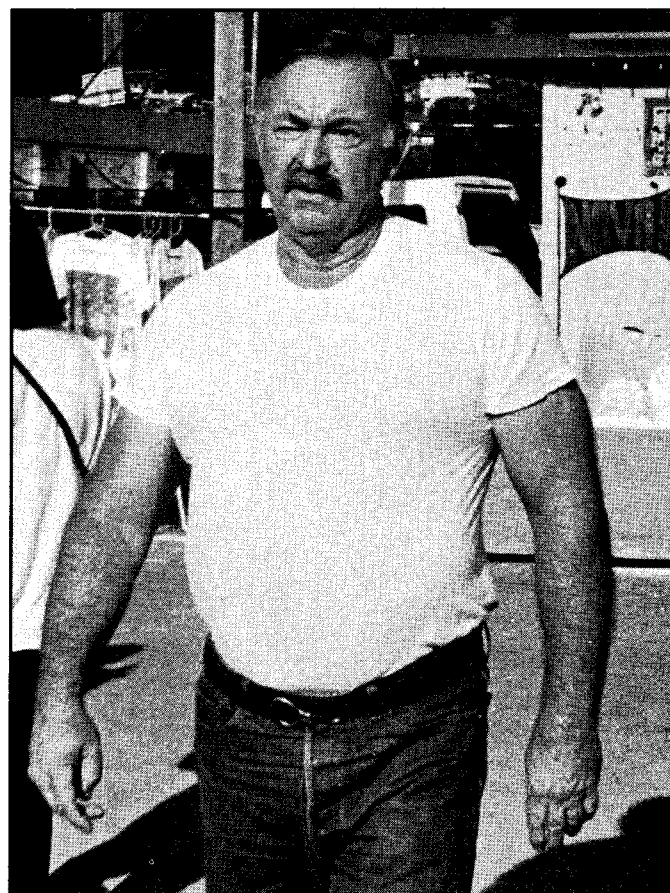
Bullock's and Gerard's files, however, revealed massive ADL operations directed not only against right-wing extremists and anti-Semitic groups, but also hundreds of mainstream and progressive groups. Included among the minority, anti-apartheid, ethnic, peace, religious, human rights, and other organizations and individuals — many of which ADL should have regarded as allies in the struggle against racism and bigotry — were the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), National Lawyers Guild, NAACP, Rainbow Coalition, Greenpeace, *Mother Jones*, Jews for Jesus, Americans for Peace Now, Irish Northern Aid, Asian Law Caucus, ACT UP, United Auto Workers, the board of directors of public television station KQED, the Department of Black Studies at San Francisco State University, *Los Angeles Times* South Africa correspondent Scott Kraft, Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Cal.), House Armed Services Committee Chair Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Cal.), and former Representative Pete McCloskey.<sup>2</sup>

Also named in the files were thousands of Arab-Americans, many who fear their names were passed on to Israeli intelligence agencies, potentially placing them in danger. ADL has frequent and close contact with Israeli officials, and despite repeated denials, has been linked to Mossad.<sup>3</sup> Already, one Arab-American, a U.S. citizen included in Bullock's computer files, has been arrested by Israeli authorities when he returned to the Occupied Territories.<sup>4</sup>

### Gerard, Bullock, and the ADL Spy Network

In mid-January the *San Francisco Examiner* began a series of front-page stories revealing that SFPD officer Tom Gerard was secretly supplying confidential data on thousands of people to an agent of the ADL.<sup>5</sup> On December 10, 1992, the news report disclosed, authorities had executed search warrants on Gerard's home, that of ADL operative Roy Bullock, and on the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices of ADL.<sup>6</sup> The news hit the Bay area like a bombshell. In fact, Bullock and Gerard had been under FBI investigation for more than two years for selling information about anti-apartheid activists to South African government agents.

Gerard, 50, had been a member of the SFPD since 1968. He claims that from 1982-85, he took a three-year leave of absence to serve with the CIA in El Salvador, Honduras, and



Jeffrey Blankfort

Roy Bullock

Guatemala as a bomb expert.<sup>7</sup> After returning to the SFPD, where he served as liaison to the FBI, Gerard approached the Bay area chapter of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). He offered to liaise between the Arab-American community and the Police Department and to help with security at ADC public functions.

His collaborator Roy Bullock, a small-time San Francisco art dealer, had provided information on an unpaid basis to the FBI. Bullock's investigations for the ADL went back as far as 1954 in Indianapolis. In 1960, he moved to southern California and began working for the ADL, which forwarded copies of his written reports to its New York headquarters. Around 1979, Bullock moved to San Francisco where, in 1985, local ADL head Richard Hirschhaut introduced him to Gerard, and the two men began to investigate both right- and left-wing groups in the Bay area.

One of Bullock's chief assignments in San Francisco was to spy on Arab-American organizations and individuals, especially the ADC, which he joined in March 1983. He was removed from the membership rolls in July 1987, after it was discovered that he was an ADL agent.<sup>8</sup>

7. He also claimed to have served in Algeria and Afghanistan. The CIA, as is its policy, refuses to comment.

8. FBI interview of Bullock, January 22, 1993, p. 5. Bullock has an extensive history of infiltration. In 1957, he joined the U.S. delegation to the Sixth World

2. The *San Francisco Examiner*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Los Angeles Times* published innumerable articles on this scandal. Two reporters for the *Examiner*, Dennis Opatrny and Scott Winokur, have vigorously pursued coverage of this case. See especially *San Francisco Examiner*, January 15, 17, 21, 22 and 28, and April 4, 8, and 9, 1993.

3. Dennis Opatrny and Scott Winokur, "S.F. Spying Case Details Laid Bare," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 11, 1993. ADL attorney Barbara Wahl said that ADL had no "formal" ties to foreign governments and foreign agents, but that if the government requested intelligence information, it would be made available. Winokur, "ADL Denies Spying for Foreign Governments," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 15, 1993.

4. Opatrny and Winokur, "Israeli Detainee Linked to S.F. Police Spy Case," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 12, 1993.

5. "Affidavit and Declaration of Inspector Ron Roth," SFPD, February 5, 1993; Police interview with Roy Bullock, January 25 and 26, 1993, released by the district attorney's office.

6. Philip Matier and Andrew Ross, "Former S.F. Cop Focus of Probe," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1993.

By 1986, Gerard had introduced Bullock to South African government agents. Bullock claims receiving \$16,000, which he split with Gerard, in exchange for information on local anti-apartheid foes and journalists. (Gerard denies the charge.)<sup>9</sup> Their relationship continued after Gerard was reassigned in 1988 to the Gang Task Force within the SFPD. At about this time, the police officer introduced Bullock to the San Francisco field office of the FBI, apparently so that

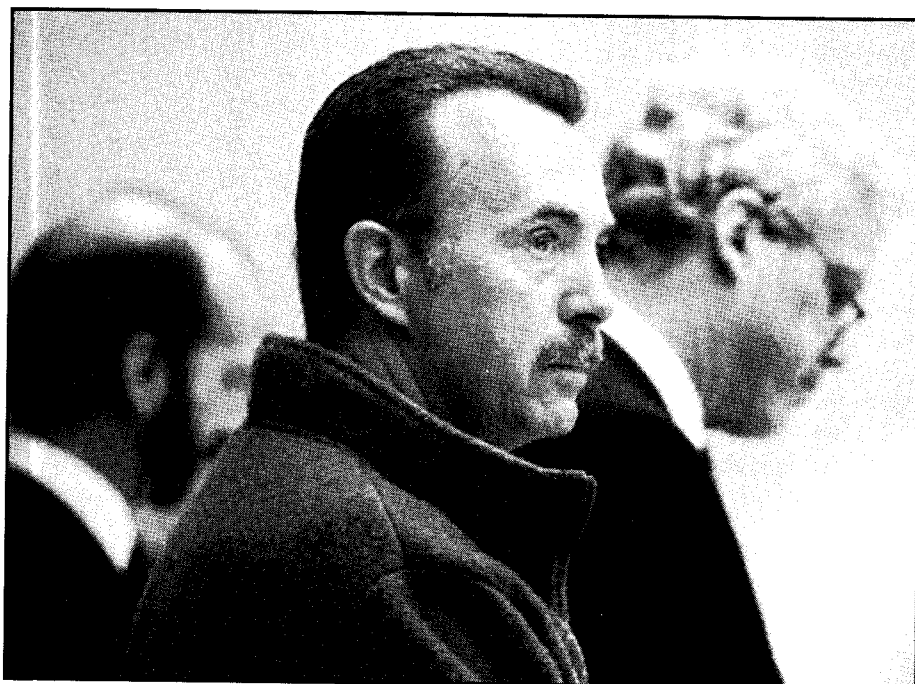
The inquiry emphasized their connection to South African intelligence and the fact that several FBI reports on the Nation of Islam were missing from FBI files.<sup>12</sup>

### Police Search Gerard, Bullock, and ADL Offices

By October 1992, Gerard and Bullock were about to lose their covers as the FBI passed its intelligence about the two to the SFPD and the story began to leak out. Gerard fled to a house he had been building on a remote island in the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with the U.S.

Before leaving, however, he neglected to erase his computer. When authorities searched his houseboat during the December 10 raids, they found 7,011 files on individuals, including extensive files on San Francisco's Arab-American community and Arab-American activists around the U.S. Some information originated with law enforcement agencies across the country and centered on fundraising for Palestinian groups. One file listed members of the Palestinian Arab Fund, a registered charity with 11 chapters in California and other states. Unidentified people alleged that they saw organization charts on U.S. Arab-American groups, transcripts of secret tape recordings of their meetings, and photos of pro-Palestinian demonstrations in Gerard's files.<sup>13</sup>

In Gerard's locker, police found some souvenirs of his CIA days, including 10 passports in different names, a black executioner's hood, photos of dark-complected men bound and blindfolded, CIA manuals, and a teletyped message, "Biodata of the Nominees to be Trained in Human Resource Exploitation (Interrogation) Course." Stamped "Secret" and referring to El Salvador, it listed 13 names. The police inventory also noted a black loose-leaf binder filled with business cards, names, addresses and three pages with more than 100 names and phone numbers titled "International Activities Division-



Craig Lee/San Francisco Examiner

**Tom Gerard, who claimed to have worked for the CIA with Salvadoran death squads, at his arraignment on eight counts of stealing government documents and one count each of computer theft, burglary, and conspiracy, May 12, 1993.**

Bullock could fill in the intelligence-gathering function the SFPD had relinquished. Bullock began feeding the FBI information in exchange for access to their intelligence.<sup>10</sup>

In November 1990, when Police Chief Willis Casey shut down the political surveillance unit and adopted new guidelines limiting surveillance, Gerard should have destroyed his files. Instead, he entered 7,000 names into his home computer and transferred copies to Bullock.

In 1990, Bullock's and Gerard's foreign entanglements on behalf of ADL appear to have precipitated an FBI investigation.<sup>11</sup>

Youth and Student Festival in Moscow and, by prior arrangement with the FBI, gave them a briefing on his return. During the mid-1980s, Bullock attended a few meetings of the San Francisco chapter of ADC. Later, under the name Buchanan, he visited the Washington ADC office where he was spotted as an ADL infiltrator by ADC staff. He had also headed a National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) lobbying mission to Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) (who was one of the people on whom he kept files).

9. Bob Drogin, "Ex-Spy Threatens CIA Scandal," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1993, p. A3.

10. SFPD interview of Bullock, January 25, 1993, pp. 64-66.

11. Press reports also include an alternative explanation of the origin of the FBI investigation of Gerard. A colleague of Gerard's told reporters that Gerard's commanding officer, Captain John Willett, suspected Gerard of selling information on Arab-Americans and called in the FBI. Gerard had, he said, refused to cooperate.

12. Phil Bronstein, "Suspect in Cop Spy Case Tells Story," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 22, 1993; and FBI interviews of Bullock, February 8, 1993, p. 17; January 26, 1993, pp. 1-22. In May 1991, Gerard was invited to go on an expense-paid ADL law enforcement mission to Israel along with ten other U.S. police officers involved in intelligence work. For some years, ADL had been sponsoring these junkets either to reward police officers who exchanged information or to lay the groundwork for future relationships. San Francisco's former police chief and current mayor, Frank Jordan, went on an ADL trip to Israel in 1987. "What better way to learn about bomb threats than to cooperate with the people dealing with them all the time?" asked Jordan. (Marshall Krantz, "Israelis Warn Top S.F. Cop About PLO Terrorism in the U.S.," *Northern California Jewish Bulletin*, July 10, 1987; Dennis J. Opatrny, "Jewish Group Paid for Jordan Trip to Israel," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 28, 1993.)

13. Scott Opatrny and Lance Williams, "Ex-S.F. Cop Target of Spying Probe," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 5, 1993.

Special Activities Group" which handles the CIA's paramilitary activities, such as support for guerrilla movements. "That's the who's who of the CIA," Gerard told the *Los Angeles Times*, "Oooh, that's gonna make people nervous." He had stashed the material in 1985 when he left the CIA in case he ever needed protection from the Agency. "The term is graymail," he said. "Do what you gotta do."<sup>14</sup>

While Gerard granted interviews from his safe haven in the Philippines, the ADL and Bullock stonewalled. ADL said that it had consented to the December 10 search of its San Francisco and Los Angeles offices and had been advised that it was not the target of the investigation. It declared itself merely a civil rights organization that collected information about "anti-Semites, racists and extremists from many sources." A spokesperson declined to reveal ADL's sources and information collection methods and claimed that no information went to Israel; as far as Gerard was concerned, "the relationship we [ADL] had with him," said Richard Hirschhaut, "was the same as with thousands of police officers around the country."<sup>15</sup>

Bullock also claimed he had operated within the law and that his computer files were legally obtained. In addition to those on the 950 organizations, police found files on 9,876 individuals. Bullock had been paid during his 32-year employment at the ADL indirectly through prominent Los Angeles attorney Bruce Hochman, and received approximately \$170,000 over a five-year period ending in 1993.<sup>16</sup> By going through Hochman, both Bullock and the ADL sought to portray Bullock as a self-employed individual only one of whose clients was the ADL. As of May 1993, ADL was continuing to pay Bullock \$550 a week because he was "damn good."<sup>17</sup>

When the extent of the Gerard-Bullock-ADL spy operation began to emerge, ADL launched an extensive public damage control effort. ADL attorney and executive committee member Barbara Wahl set the stage for distancing her organization from the illegal operation. Bullock, she asserted, was operating as an "independent contractor."

"He's never been instructed nor did we condone the breaking of the law. ... We don't know if he did...[and] have no knowledge of him going through the trash of target groups."<sup>18</sup>

14. Drogin, *op. cit.*; Susan Sward and Bill Wallace, "Spy Case Suspect Posts Bail," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1993, p. A19.

15. See Elliot L. Bien and Richard S. Hirschhaut, "The ADL's Job is to Fight Hatred," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 24, 1993; *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, January 22, 1993; Richard Hirschhaut, letter to the editor, *San Francisco Examiner*, February 3, 1993. (Bien is ADL President and Hirschhaut is Regional Director.)

16. Opatrnay and Winokur, "S.F. Spymaster Revealed," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 4, 1993; letter of attorney Bruce I. Hochman to Inspector Ron Roth, SFPD, April 1, 1993, with copy of check #15216 for \$3,300 covering weeks of April 14 through May 1993. Bullock was not the only investigator on the ADL payroll. Documents released by the SFPD revealed code-names for at least six others who operated out of ADL fact-finding offices in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, St. Louis, Washington, and Los Angeles.

17. Paul Feldman and Richard Paddock, "Spy Furor Forces ADL to Defend Its Image," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 1993, p. B4.

18. Richard Paddock and Kenneth Reich, "ADL Officials Deny They Condoned Illegal Spying," *Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 1993.

The distance closed when many of the files seized from Bullock's home turned out to be the same as those in the ADL offices. ADL's credibility vanished when, after months of ADL denials, Wahl admitted the League had gathered information and passed it on to Israel. She rejected connections with other foreign governments, presumably including South Africa. But she did not explain why the Los Angeles ADL offices had files on anti-apartheid activities and activists, dating back to the 1950s.<sup>19</sup> An FBI report confirmed that Gerard and Bullock gave information to the South Africans.<sup>20</sup>

"The scandal," notes Daniel Levitas, former executive director of the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, "...has completely tainted the ADL's credibility and reputation with regard to objectivity." It may also land some people in jail. The League faces criminal prosecution on up to 48 felony counts including gaining illegal access to police computers. Journalist Robert Friedman quotes a source saying that indictment is "99 percent certain."<sup>21</sup>

While admitting to rifling through garbage and "pooping and snooping on people in the U.S.," Gerard, too, denied criminal wrongdoing. "I shouldn't say I did no wrong," he demurred. "I should say I showed poor judgment. ... But as far as criminal acts, no way." He complained he was being set up as a fall guy by Bullock. When he bought his computer from Bullock, he said, "the files were already in there." He charged that the SFPD and FBI were leaking damaging information on him and threatened that if indicted for selling confidential law enforcement information, he would expose illegal CIA support for Latin American death squads. The

*"The relationship [ADL] had with [Gerard] was the same as with thousands of police officers around the country." —Richard Hirschhaut*

threat was partially fulfilled in a three-hour interview with a *Los Angeles Times* reporter when Gerard discussed illegal CIA support for the death squads.<sup>22</sup>

On May 6, Gerard suddenly and surprisingly returned to San Francisco where he was arrested and booked on eight counts of stealing government documents and one count each of computer theft, burglary, and conspiracy. He said he returned because he was afraid the CIA had put out a contract on him and thought he would be safer in the U.S. He was released on \$20,000 bail.<sup>23</sup>

19. FBI interview with David Gurvitz, March 8, 1993. Gurvitz was an undercover ADL agent in Los Angeles; and Jane Hunter, "ADL Spies and the FBI," *Middle East Report*, April 30, 1993, p. 12.

20. FBI interview of Bullock, January 26, 1993, pp. 1-8.

21. Robert I. Friedman, "The Enemy Within," *Village Voice*, May 11, 1993, p. 28.

22. Drogin, *op. cit.*

23. AP, "Arrest in Secret Documents Case," *New York Times*, May 9, 1993.

While Bullock, Gerard, and the ADL ran for cover and tried to off-load responsibility on each other, the media relegated the targets of the secret surveillance to being merely bit players. Meanwhile under an extensive ADL spin control campaign, the story is being treated as an exotic spy thriller rather than the serious erosion of personal political freedoms and invasion of privacy that it is.<sup>24</sup>

### The Privatization of Domestic Spying

Domestic spying has a long history in the U.S. — only slightly longer than the practice of trivializing its social and political consequences. During the 1970s, fallout from the Watergate scandal and the death of J. Edgar Hoover (which resulted in freeing some of his secret blackmail files) briefly focused media and public attention on a formidable legacy of domestic political surveillance. Citizens and organizations, mostly on the left, felt encouraged to initiate legal and political challenges to the spy operations that had been carried on for decades by federal, state, and local agencies. With legal and monetary resources far less than those of their opponents, they launched long and costly lawsuits and in several cases won damages for denial of their constitutional rights.<sup>25</sup> Other cases ended with settlement agreements stipulating that the surveilled parties be notified or that files be destroyed. In the process, media coverage helped raise public awareness of a massive and consistent pattern of violation of citizens' rights by government.

Eventually some reforms were enacted. But while the new legislation, policy guidelines, and laws curtailed government political surveillance, private political spying increasingly filled the intelligence gap.

At a time when established governmental systems for monitoring subversion have been cut back, these counter-subversive operations acquire special importance; they must continue the data collection and storage practices formerly shared with governmental agencies, intensify their own propaganda efforts, and — a new mission — promote renewed official involvement in surveillance and related activities directed against dissent.<sup>26</sup>

...translating the country's  
democratic ideals into a way of life  
for all Americans since 1913.



In fact, these new networks were not strictly private. They were frequently aided and abetted by police agencies or officers, and often had connections to both domestic governmental spying and foreign intelligence operations.

Major right-wing private intelligence operations today include John Rees' *Information Digest*, the International Freedom Foundation, the Council for Inter-American Security, Lyndon LaRouche's *Executive Intelligence Review*, and Sun Myung Moon's Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles. They identify individuals and organizations associated with a particular issue, and then amass as much personal identifier information as possible: address, phone number, weight, birth date, marital status, social security number, organizational memberships, photograph, driver's license, auto license number, political data, etc.

The ADL maintains another of these private spy operations, one which has particularly close ties to official resources. "FBI documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act show that special agents in charge of FBI field offices throughout the nation were explicitly ordered by Bureau headquarters in Washington, D.C. during the 1980s to cooperate with the ADL."<sup>27</sup>

### Political Spying in San Francisco

The historical relationship between private and public spy efforts in San Francisco and the involvement of ADL is unique only in that so much detail has been exposed. In 1984, seeking to avoid a repeat of the 1968 Chicago Democratic presidential convention fiasco, the SFPD generated masses of intelligence on potential disrupters. Investigators targeted 95 groups including the ACLU and Catholic Charities of Oakland. When ACLU sought its files in 1989, the SFPD declined, claiming that the information would identify informers.<sup>28</sup>

The SFPD-ACLU political tug-of-war and the media revelations helped set the stage for several reforms.<sup>29</sup> In 1990, the two groups cooperated to draw up new surveillance guidelines. These precluded police surveillance of organizations not explicitly engaged in criminal acts and barred investigation of individuals simply because they belonged to a targeted organization.<sup>30</sup>

24. April 25, 1993, was virtually the first time the *New York Times* covered the ADL spy story with a piece essentially in keeping with the ADL efforts at damage control. The *Times*, like other newspapers, had frequently used the ADL as an information resource and has cited "Jewish intelligence sources."

25. *Spanish Action Committee of Chicago v. City of Chicago*, Case No. 80-C-4714 (N.D. Ill., July 2, 1984); *Hobson v. Wilson*, 556 F.Supp. 1157 (D.D.C., 1982); *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, U.S. 642 F. Supp. 1357 (S.D.N.Y., 1986).

26. Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System* (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1981), p. 414; quoted in Chip Berlet, "Communism in the U.S.: The Hunt for the Red Menace," *CovertAction*, Number 31 (Winter 1989), p. 8.

27. Examiner Staff Report, "Anti-Defamation League: A History of Collecting Data," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 1, 1993.

28. Steve Burkholder, "Red Squads on the Prowl: Still Spying after All These Years," *The Progressive*, October 1988, p. 22.

29. Chicago had curbed police spying almost a decade earlier after a lawsuit by surveillance targets. In 1980, Seattle had gone so far as to enact an anti-spying ordinance, while efforts in Detroit to pass a similar ordinance were defeated through the opposition of Mayor Coleman Young. ("Curbs on Police Spying," *The Progressive*, October 1988, p. 21.)

30. *San Francisco Police Department: Civil Disturbance Section Guidelines*.



ADL's response to the police reforms seemed bizarre for an organization with a stated dedication to civil liberties. Bitterly denouncing Mayor Art Agnos and Police Chief Willis Casey, ADL Pacific Regional Director Richard Hirschhaut opposed both the dismantling of the SFPD Intelligence Unit and the designation of San Francisco as a sanctuary for conscientious objectors. The reform, he said, "creates a climate that anything goes in San Francisco. That climate can lead to serious harm. It's dangerous."<sup>31</sup>

The SFPD Intelligence Unit did not completely disappear. It changed its name to the Civil Disturbance Section and added a separate Hate Crimes Unit. Hirschhaut also opposed limiting the purview of this unit to gathering information on hate groups only *after* a crime had been committed. "Before, a feeling or intuition about a group or organization could come from some seasoned law enforcement officials because their guy can tell something different about a hate group. None of that can happen now," he said. By giving tacit approval to all protesters, he continued, the sanctuary declaration paved the way for anti-Semitic and anti-Israel sentiment.<sup>32</sup>

### ADL's Mission

ADL's vehement support for SFPD surveillance operations was an ironic betrayal of its original principles. The League's 1913 founding charter defined its mission to oppose "the defamation of the Jewish People" and asserted that "its ultimate purpose is to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike."<sup>33</sup> Over the years, the League won widespread respect for its active support of civil rights and its vigorous opposition to racist segregation and white supremacy groups.

The gradual undermining of that broad mission is linked to both internal and external factors. From its very inception ADL sought acceptance by, and alliance with, those in power. It regarded "good working relationships" with the law enforcement community as pivotal. Toward this end, ADL has openly participated in seminars and informational programs



Rick Reinhard

The ADL surveilled demonstrations like this pro-Palestinian march in Washington, D.C., 1988.

and worked cooperatively with federal, regional, state, and local law enforcement officials.<sup>34</sup> That close relationship facilitated Gerard's and Bullock's crimes.

External factors also precipitated ADL's violation of its original principles: the post-World War II Cold War struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union; and the creation in 1948 of an independent Jewish state dependent on Western, especially U.S., support.

On the first score, the U.S. government saw radical domestic movements, particularly the Communist Party, as a major subversive threat to national security. ADL's first known involvement in the resultant repression of leftists came to light in hearings before a subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives in October 1947.<sup>35</sup> The hearings investigated the authority of the Civil Service Commission to compile an "investigators' leads file" containing "facts, rumor and gossip bearing upon the views, opinions, and acts of individuals who were neither federal employees nor applicants for positions coming under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission." The result, charged Subcommittee Chair Clare E. Hoffman (R-Mich.), would be "a most admirable smear list" based on "hearsay." Hoffman indicated that the source of much of the information on alleged subversives was the American Jewish Committee and the ADL.<sup>36</sup>

31. Garth Wolkoff, "San Francisco Charged With Encouraging Hate," *Detroit Jewish News*, February 15, 1991.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Quoted in Leo O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations and Israel*, (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1986).

34. Bien and Hirschhaut, *op. cit.*

35. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, *Investigators' Leads File: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments*, 80th Congress, 1st session, October 3, 6, and 7, 1947.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

# Organizations Found in ADL Files

## Pinko

Act Now  
ACTUP  
Action for Animals  
Adrian 17  
African Black Students Org./S.F. State  
African Network  
African National Reparations Org.  
African People's Socialist Party  
African Peoples Solidarity Comm.  
African Students Org.  
Africans United for Progress  
AFSCME Local 3218 (Vice Pres.)  
AFSCME Local 3506  
Alexandria Assn. of Human Rights  
Advocacy  
All Peoples Congress  
Alliance for Philippine Concerns  
Alliance to Stop First Strike  
Alliance to Stop Police Abuse  
Allied Printing Trades Council  
Alternative Information Center  
Amer-I-Can  
American Civil Liberties Union  
American Indian Center  
American Indian Movement  
American Indian Student Org.  
American Muslim Mission  
Americans for Peace Now  
Anarchist Collective  
ANC Meeting  
Ang Katipunan  
Anti-Apartheid Comm./AFSCME  
Anti-Militarism Comm.  
Anti-Racist Action  
April 19th Comm. Against Nazis  
Arab Bath Socialist Party  
Arab Lesbian Network  
Armenian National Comm.  
Armenian Peoples Movement  
Arms Control Research Center  
Artists and Videomakers Against the War  
Artists and Writers Out Loud  
Artists Television Access  
Asian Law Caucus  
Audio Archives  
Author of Measure J  
Babylon Burning  
Back Country Action Network  
Bad Cop/No Donut  
Barricada Internacional  
Bay Area Anti-Racist Action  
Bay Area Coal. for Reproductive Rights  
Bay Area Friends of Christ Institute  
Bay Area Jewish Task Force on Cent. Am.  
Bay Area Nat. Conf. of Black Lawyers  
Bay Area Peace Council  
Bay Area Peace Navy  
Bay Area Reporter  
Bay Area Times  
Bay Area Vets Against War in Mid. East  
Beebe Memorial C.M.E. Temple  
Ben Under Construction Brigade  
Big Mountain Native People's Support  
Bir Zeit Univ. Instructor  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania  
Black Freedom Fighters Coalition  
Black Men United for Change  
Black Studies Department/S.F. State  
Black United Fund  
Boricuan Popular Army for Puerto Ricoan Independence  
Boycott Coke  
Boycott Shell Comm.  
Breakthrough  
Brigada Antonio Maceo  
Brothers of African Descent  
Bulletin in Defense of Marxism

Calendar Magazine (Gay)  
California Voice  
Campaign Against Apartheid  
Campus Peace Comm.  
Canadians for Justice in the Middle East  
Capp Street Center  
Capp Street Foundation  
Carpenters Local 22  
Casa El Salvador  
Casa El Salvador Mailing List  
Center for Constitutional Rights  
Center for Democratic Renewal  
Center for Investigative Reporting  
Center for Middle East Studies  
Center for the Study of the Americas  
Cent. Amer. Research Institute  
Chair: Chicano Studies (U.C. Berkeley)  
Chop From the Top  
Church Network on the Philippines  
Citizens for Representative Government  
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists  
Commission of Inquiry  
Comm. Against Lockhead D-5  
Comm. for Academic Freedom in Israeli-Occupied Territories  
Comm. for Equality and Justice  
Comm. for Freedom in Argentina  
Comm. for Peace and Democracy in Iran  
Comm. for Perm. Israeli-Palestinian Peace  
CISPES  
Cistur  
Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt  
Comm. to Support the Revolution in Peru  
Communist Party U.S.A.  
Communist Workers Party  
Communist Youth Brigade  
Community-Labor Coalition for Social & Econ. Justice  
Community United Against Violence  
Continuing the Peace Dialogue  
Contra Watch Newsletter  
Copwatch  
Council for the National Interest  
Council on Foreign Relations  
CounterSpy  
CovertAction Information Bulletin  
CovertAction  
Cuba Resource Group  
Cuban Information Project  
Delta Sigma Beta  
Democratic Society of America  
Democratic Workers Party  
Dennis Banks Defense Comm.  
Diablo Valley Peace Center  
Direct Action Against Racism  
Doghouse Newsletter  
Downside Records  
Dykes and Gay Emergency Response  
Earth Island Institute  
East Bay Women for Peace  
El Centro de la Raza  
El Tecolote  
Emergency Coalit. for Palestinian Rights  
Emergency Coalition to End War  
Emergency Comm. to Stop Flag Amendment  
Endorser of Proposition W  
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting  
Fighting Back  
Filipino East Bay Network  
Filipino Organization Comm.  
FMLN-FDR West Coast Representative  
Food First  
Food Not Bombs  
Free S.A. Labor Comm.  
Freedom for S.A. Refugees Campaign  
Freedom for S.A. Refugees Center  
Freedom Rising-Africa Solidarity Comm.  
Freedom Road Socialist Org.  
Freedom Socialist Party  
Friends of Nicaragua  
Friends of Yesh Gvul  
Frontline  
Frontline Managing Editor  
Gay American Indians

Gay and Lesbian Labor Alliance  
Global Exchange  
Global Options  
Green Giant Frozen Foods Workers Comm.  
Greenpeace  
Group for Critical Study Colonial...  
Guardian  
Guatemala News and Information Bureau  
Harvey Milk Club  
Hotel and Restaurant Employees #2  
ILWU Local 6, President  
ILWU Local 10  
INCAR  
In These Times  
Independent Grocers Assn.  
Info. Network Against War and Fascism  
Information Services on Latin America  
Instituto del Pueblo  
Interfaith Center on Corporate Accountability  
Interfaith Task Force on Cent. Amer.  
Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Ctr.  
Int. Campaign to Free Geronimo Pratt  
Internat. Comm. Against Racism  
Internat. Indian Treaty Council  
Internat. Jewish Peace Union  
Internat. League for Human Rights/N. Amer. Chapter  
Internat. Socialist Org.  
Internationalist Workers Party  
Irish National Aid  
Irish Northern Aid  
Irish Republican Socialist Comm.  
Israeli Foreign Affairs  
Israelis Against Occupation  
Japanese-American Citizens League  
Jewish Comm. on the Middle East  
John Brown Anti-Klan Comm.  
KPOO Radio  
KQED-TV Board of Directors  
KUNA  
Labor Comm. on the Middle East  
Labor for Peace  
Labor Video  
LAGAL  
La Raza Coalition of Berkeley  
La Raza Unida  
Latin America Support Comm.  
Lavender Mafia  
Lawyers Comm. on Cent. Amer.  
League of Filipino Students  
Leonard Peltier Alliance Group  
Lesbian Agenda for Action  
Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention  
Liberation Support Movement  
Libros Sin Fronteras  
Line Of March  
L.A. Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East  
L.A. Observer  
L.A. Student Coalition  
MADRE  
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement  
Mandela Reception Comm.  
Maoist Internationalist Movement  
Marazul Tours  
Mariposa Peace Network  
Marxist-Leninist Party  
Media Review  
Middle East Children's Alliance  
Middle East Comm. for National Conference of Black Lawyers  
Middle East Peace Network  
Midwest Labor Institute  
Mobilization Support Group  
Modern Times Bookstore  
Mother Jones  
Movimiento de Agrupacion Popular  
Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano  
NABET Local 51/Executive Board  
NALC Local 214  
Nat. Alliance of Third World Journalists  
NAACP  
National Call to Action  
Nat'l Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays

Natl. Comm. Against Repressive Legislation  
National Conference of Black Lawyers  
National Forum of S.A.  
National Midweek  
National Org. of African Students in N. Am.  
National Rainbow Coalition  
National Response Comm./NBAU  
National Student Cent. Am. Action Network  
National Student Lobby  
National Union of Farmers  
Network of Arab-American Students  
Network Solidarity with Chile  
New Afrikan Peoples Org.  
New Alliance Newspaper  
New Alliance Party  
New Americas Press  
New Jewish Agenda  
New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rico  
Rico Independentistas  
Nicaragua Cultural Center  
Nicaragua Information Center  
Nicaragua Information Center Bulletin  
Nicaragua Interfaith Comm. Action  
Nicaragua Network News  
No Apologies/No Regrets  
No Business As Usual  
No Justice, No Peace  
North Bay Anti-Racist Action  
North Star  
Northern California Ecumenical Council  
Now Magazine, Toronto (Canada)  
Nuremberg Actions  
Oakland Education Association  
O.C. Coalition for Peace in the Middle East  
OCAW  
OCAW Local 8149  
October 6 Justice Project  
Oregon Philippines Concerns Comm.  
Out of Control Comm.  
Outrage  
Pacifica Foundation  
Pakistan Democratic Comm.  
Pan African Movement of the U.S.  
Partido Socialista Chileno  
Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno  
Partisan Defense Comm.  
Patrice Lumumba Coalition  
Paul Robeson Friendship Society  
Peace and Conflict Studies  
Peace and Freedom Comm.  
Peace and Freedom Party  
Peace and Justice Comm.-School Board  
Peace and Solidarity Alliance  
Peace and Solidarity Comm.  
Peace Cafe  
Peace Research Center  
People Against Racist Terror  
Peoples Anti-War Mobilization  
Peoples Architecture Collective  
Peoples Law Office  
Peoples Park  
Peoples Video  
Peoples World  
Pershing Plowshares  
Philippine Organizing Comm.  
Philippine Resource Center  
Philippines Human Rights Lobby  
Pledge of Resistance  
Plumbers and Fitters Local 393  
Portland Cent. Amer. Solidarity Comm.  
Prison News Service  
Project Impact  
Project National Interest  
Public Eye  
Queer Nation  
Quinn Defense  
Radical Film Collective  
Radical Women  
Rainbow Coalition  
Rainbow Lobby  
Refuge and Resist  
Republic of New Afrika  
Revolutionary Books  
Revolutionary Communist Party  
Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade  
Revolutionary Worker  
Revolutionary Workers League  
Richmond Education Assn.  
Roots Against War  
San Fernando Valley Peace Coalition  
San Francisco Bay Guardian

S.F. Coalition of Labor Union Women  
S.F. Labor Council/AFL-CIO  
San Francisco Sentinel  
S.F. Univ. Labor Studies  
San Francisco Weekly  
S.F. Women for Peace  
SANE/FREEZE  
Sardaraba  
Science for Nicaragua  
SEIU Local 535  
SEIU Local 616  
Serbian Unity Congress  
Shell Boycott Comm.  
Simon Wiesenthal Center  
Sister City Assn.  
Socialist Action  
Socialist Party Political Org.  
Socialist Workers Party  
Society of In'Ash El-U.S.A.  
SOHRI Study Group (UC Berkeley)  
Solidarity  
S.A. Forum  
S.A. Freedom Through Education Foundation  
S.A. Internat. Student Congress  
South Africa's Workers Org.  
South Bay Nicaragua Solidarity Comm.  
So. African Liberation Support Comm.  
Southern African Media Center  
Spartacus Youth League  
Spartacist League  
Stevens, Hinds & White, Attorneys  
Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network  
Student Ctr. Against Apartheid and Racism  
Student Pugwash  
Students Against Intervention  
Students Against Intervention in Cent. Am.  
Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf  
SWAPO  
SWAPO Meeting  
Tass News Agency  
Teamsters Local 921, S.F. Teamsters for a Democratic Union  
Tecnica  
The Black Scholar  
The Data Center  
The Dazen-I Foundation  
The Irishman  
The Nuclear Resister  
Third World Resources  
Toronto Anti-Interventional Coalition  
Trustee, IAM Local 565 (Sunnyvale)  
Ubiquitous  
Unified Against Genocide  
Union del Barrio  
Union of Democratic Filipinos  
Union Publications  
United Auto Workers  
United Auto Workers, Local 119  
United Colors  
United Farm Workers  
United Front Against Fascism  
U.S. Anti-Apartheid Newsletter  
U.S. China Review  
U.S. Comm. for Friendship with the GDR  
U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange  
U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society  
U.S. Out of S.A. Network  
U.S. Peace Council  
U.S.-USSR Friendship Society of S.F.  
U.S.A. Movement Banning Apartheid  
Univ. of Calif., Berkeley  
UTU Local 1730  
Vanguard Public Foundation  
Venceremos Brigade  
Vietnam Veterans Action  
Vietnam News Agency  
Villa Zapata Workers Comm.  
Voice of the Uprising  
Washington Office on Africa  
WBAI-FM (Pacifica Foundation), New York  
Weatherman Underground  
Witness for S.A.  
Woman, Inc.  
Women Against U.S. Intervention  
Women in Black  
Women of Color Coalition Center  
Women of Color Resource Project  
Womens Int. League for Peace and Freedom  
Workers World Party  
Yes On W Comm.  
Young Koreans United  
Young Koreans United of S.F.

## Arab

Arab-Ameri  
Arab Book  
Arab People  
Arab Relief  
Arab Studies  
Research  
Arab-Ameri  
Arabic Book  
Bethlehem  
Black Muslim  
Comm. for  
Comm. of C  
Council of A  
Dem. Front  
Palestine  
Democratic  
Department  
Studies  
El Fatah  
Family Spon  
Gen. Union  
Inst. of Afric  
Iranian Stud  
Iraqi Intellig  
Islamic Jihad  
Islamic Soci  
Israeli Civil  
JIFNA Assn.  
Khilafah  
Law in the S  
Masjid Al-Isl  
Masjid Al-S  
Middle East  
Muslim Muta  
Muslim Stud  
Muslim Stud  
Nation of Isl  
National Ass  
National Law  
November 25  
Occupied La  
Palestine Am  
Palestine Ar  
Palestine Ar  
Palestine De  
Palestine Hu  
Palestine Sol  
Palestine Wo  
Popular Front  
Palestine  
Progressive  
Sacred House  
Union of Palest  
Association

## ANC

A Movement  
African Nation  
All African Pe  
Party  
All-African St  
Alternative Ed  
(SACHED)  
Anglican Chur  
Responsibi  
Anti-Apartheid  
Anti-Apartheid  
Apartheid Boy  
Art Against Ap  
Artists Against  
Bay Area Free  
Berkeley Anti  
Cancor Reser  
Democratic Sc  
Dennis Brutus  
Evangelical Lu  
Free Moses M  
Journalist LA  
National Nam  
Pan African Co  
Pan Africanist  
Pan-African C  
Prairie Fire O  
S.A. Ecumenic  
S.F. Anti-Apar  
South African  
Southern Afric  
Univ. of Calif.

Categories and names are as they appeared in Gerard's and Butlock's files (except abbreviations).



## Right

Adolph Hitler Church  
Aid and Abet  
*Alarming Cry*  
Alarm  
Alert  
American-Afrikaner Union  
American Agriculture Movement  
American Challenge  
American Christian Ministry  
American Firm  
American Front  
American Front Vikings  
American Immigration Control  
Foundation  
American Independent Party  
American Liberty Assn.  
*American Mercury*  
American National Front  
American Nazi Party  
American Pistol and Rifle Assn.  
American Resistance  
American White Separatists  
Americans for Constitutional Justice, Inc.  
Americans for National Security  
America's Destiny/Natl. Video Network  
America's Promise  
America's Promise Ministries  
Answer  
*Anti-Abortionist*  
Anti-Catholic League  
Anti-Racist Action  
*Anti-Wiesel Letter*  
Anti-Zionist  
Applied Research  
Arizona Kindred  
Arizona Patriots  
Arizona White Battalion  
Arizona White Battalion Skinheads  
*Aryan Awake*  
Aryan Brotherhood  
Aryan Christian Knights  
Aryan Federation  
Aryan Identity  
Aryan Nationalist Church  
Aryan Nations  
Aryan Nations Brotherhood  
Aryan Nations Liberty Net  
*Aryan Nations Report*  
Aryan Resistance Movement  
Aryan Socialist Youth Party  
Aryan Territorial Alliance  
Aryan Update  
Aryan Wolfpack  
Aryan Woman's League  
Aryan Women United  
Aryan Workers League  
Aryan Youth Force  
Aryan Youth Movement  
Assemblies of the Called Out Ones  
Assembly of Yahowah the Eternal  
Assembly of Yahweh  
Associates for the Christian Life  
Auburn Skins  
Basic Bible Church of America  
Bay Area Patriots (*Justice Times*)  
Beaverton Boot Boys  
Bible Believer's Fellowship  
Bible Educator Ministry  
Bible Study Group  
Bible Truth Research  
Blue Six Skinheads  
Boer Freedom Movement  
Bo Gritz for President  
Bomber Boys  
Braxas Foundation  
Buffalo Area Skinheads  
Burbank Punk Org.  
Calif. Health Care Advocates  
Calif. White Vikings  
Calvary Temple Bible Church  
Canadian Alliance  
Canadian Knights of the KKK  
CASH/Romantic Violence  
*CBA Bulletin*  
Center for Nationalist Studies  
Center for Study  
*Chalcedon Report*  
Chicago White Vikings  
Christian American Advocates  
Christian American Research League

Christian Anti-Communist Party  
Christian Aryan Patriots  
Christian Bookstore  
Christian Comm. to Teach Bible Law  
Christian Conservative Churches of Am.  
Christian Consulting Co.  
Christian Crusade for Truth  
Christian Defense League  
*Christian Educator*  
*Christian Forum Newsletter*  
Christian Guard  
Christian Heritage  
Christian Heritage Conference  
Christian Identity Church  
Christian Identity Skinhead  
Christian Israel Covenant Church  
Christian Israel Fellowship  
*Christian Law Journal*  
Christian Legal Education Assn.  
Christian Outreach Library  
*Christian Patriot Crusader*  
Christian Patriots Defense Fund  
Christian Patriots Defense League  
Christian Patriots God and Country Book  
Christian Research  
Christian Sons of Liberty  
Christian Task Force  
Christians for Truth & Religious Freedoms  
*Christians on Point Newsletter*  
Christmas Star Church  
Christ's Covenant Church  
Christ's Covenant People  
Christ's Identity Church  
Church of Elijah  
Church of Israel  
Church of Israel in the Wilderness  
Church of Jesus Christ  
Church of Jesus Christ at Philadelphia  
Church of Jesus Christ Christian  
Church of the Covenant, Sword and Arm  
Church of the Creator  
Church of the Swastika  
Church of WAR  
Church of White Separation  
Citizens Bar Association  
Circle Bible Study  
Citizens Claw  
Citizens Council  
Citizens for Fraud-Free Elections  
Citizens for God and Country  
Claremont Institute  
Club of Life (LaRouche)  
CODOH  
Colorado Kindred  
Comm. for American/1960s  
Comm. of Ten Million  
Comm. To Clean Up the Courts  
Comm. to Debate the Holocaust  
Comm. to Reexamine WWII  
Comm. to Restore the Constitution  
Common Title Bond and Trust  
Confederate Knights of America  
Covenant Church of Our Redeemer  
Covenant Ministries  
Covenant of Christ Church  
Covenant of Jesus Christ  
Covenant People's Advocate  
*Criminal Politics*  
Croatian Democratic Party U.S.A.  
Crusade Against Corruption  
David Duke  
Defender of the American Constitution/54  
Desert Fox Enterprises  
Destiny Publishers  
East Side Boot Boys  
East Side Mafia  
East Side White Pride  
Editorial Research Service  
Electro-Magnetic Research Center  
Elohim City  
Euro-American Alliance  
*Executive Intelligence Review*  
Faith Skins  
First Covenant Church  
Focus  
Force 751  
Foundation for Am. Christian Education  
Fraternal White Knights  
Fraternity of Preparation  
Freedom Through Truth Foundation  
Free German Workers Party  
Ghost Rider

GLK Smith Doner/1959  
*God's Plan for Good Health Newsletter*  
Gospel Foundation  
Gospel of Christ Kingdom Church  
Gospel of the Kingdom Mission  
Grand Dragon Indiana, Knights KKK  
Gresham Aryan Resistance  
Hammerhead/Young Blood  
Hammer Skins  
Heartland WAR Director  
Heirs of the Blessing  
Hepzibah Ranch  
Heritage Library  
*Hoskins Report*  
H.U.G. Liberty  
Identity  
Identity/American Covenant Church  
Identity Baptist  
Identity Church  
Identity/Kingdom Spirit  
Identity/Kingdom Messenger  
Identity Study Group  
Imperial Order of the Black Eagle  
Institute for American Research  
Institute for Historical Review  
Internat. Conspiratological Assn.  
*International Mod Monthly*  
Internat. Research Institute/JBS  
*International Moneyline*  
Invisible Empire Knights of the KKK  
Irish Republican Army  
Irvine Values Coalition  
Israel Identity Fellowship  
Jackie's Junction  
Jewish Defense League  
Jewish Defense Org.  
Jews for Jesus  
John Birch Society  
Joppa Gospel Tabernacle  
Joppa Tabernacle Ministry  
Kahane  
Kingdom Bible Institute  
Kingdom Christian Fellowship  
*Kingdom Courier*  
Kingdom Identity Ministries  
*Kingdom Messenger*  
Kingdom Seekers Ministry  
Kingdom Truth Fellowship  
Ku Klux Klan  
Ku Klux Klan #87  
LaPorte Church of Christ  
LaRouche for President  
Las Vegas Skinheads  
Legal (*Justice Times*)  
Legion for the Survival of Freedom  
Legion of the New Order  
Liberty Lobby  
Liberty Lobby Fat Cat  
Liberty Net  
Liberty Trust  
Lightbearers of Jesus the Church  
Lighthouse Healing Mission  
Lords Covenant Church  
L.A. Death Squad  
*Los Angeles Sentinel*  
M.A.C. and Company  
Malicious Ol' Boys  
MASH  
*McAlvany Intelligence Advisor*  
*McCalden Revisionist Newsletter*  
Minneapolis Baldies  
Ministry of Christ Church  
Mission to Israel  
Morningside Chapel  
Multiplication Unlimited, Inc.  
National Alliance  
National Aryan Front  
National Aryan Skin Heads  
National Assn. for Advancement of White  
People  
National Christian Church  
National Democratic Party  
*National Educator*  
National Euro-American Society  
National Identity Church  
National Justice Foundation  
National Knights of the KKK  
National Media Services  
National Org. for White America  
National Prayer Network  
NSDAP-AO  
National Socialist Dept. of Preservation

National Socialist Front  
NS Kindred  
National Socialist League  
National Socialist Vanguard  
National Socialist White American Party  
National Socialist White Peoples Party  
National Socialist Youth Corp.  
National States Rights Party  
*National Vanguard*  
National White Awareness League  
National White Resistance Network  
National Youth Alliance/71  
Nevada Comm. of the States  
New American Man  
New Beginnings  
New Christian Crusade Church  
New Covenant Christian Church  
New Covenant Church  
*New Dawn*  
New National, U.S.A.  
*New Order*  
New Order Legion  
*News Beginnings*  
Noontide Press  
Northern Hammerskins  
Northern Press  
Northern World  
Northview Assembly of God  
Northwest Knights of the KKK  
Northwest Separatists  
Northwest Territory Knights KKK  
Oklahoma White Knights  
OMAGA  
Operation Rescue  
Organized Organizer  
Outcalled of God  
Pace  
Pace Amendment  
Panic Org. (LaRouche)  
Pasadena Gospel Temple  
Patriot Defense Fellowship Program  
Patriotic Network  
Patriots of the New Order  
*Patriots Research Reports*  
People Concerned About Today's  
Education  
*Phoenix Journal Express*  
Polari Publications  
*Polish Post Eagle*  
Polonian  
Populist Action Committee  
Populist Party/Carlo  
Portland Bible Study Group  
Posse Comitatus  
POWAR  
Pro American Press  
*Prophetic Herald*  
PUSH  
Racial Loyalty  
Radio Free America  
Reconstituted National Party  
Redeem Our Country  
Reichskins  
Remarks  
Remnant Church  
Renaissance  
Restoration Ministries  
Restoration of Bible Church  
Rockarama Records  
Rockin White Pride  
SACIO  
Salem Skins  
San Diego Identity  
Self-Determination Comm.  
Self Proclaimed Indentists  
Sharpskins  
Shepherd's Chapel, Inc.  
Shoc Boy  
Skinhead Alliance  
Skinhead Dogs  
Skinheads  
Skins and Punks Against Racism  
Socialist National Front  
Soldiers of Israel  
Sons of the Covenant  
South East Boot Boys  
South Side Players  
Southern Justice  
Southern Justice League  
Southern White Knights  
*Spotlight*  
SS-Action Group

SS of America  
Stone Kingdom Ministries  
Stop Homosexual Advocacy in  
Education  
Stop Immigration Now  
Stop IRS Levy (*Justice Times*)  
Strikeforce  
Students for America  
Survival  
Sword of Christ  
*Tax Protester*  
*Teutonic Times*  
*The Alarming Cry*  
The American Firm  
The American Freeman Assn.  
The American Front  
*The American Israelite Crusader*  
The Assembly of Jesus Christ  
*The Bible Educator*  
The Box Public Access Cynics  
*The Christian Guard*  
*The Citizens Claw*  
*The Coleman Report*  
*The Connector*  
The Final Solution  
The Illinois Knights of the KKK  
The Jubilee  
The League of Peace Advocates  
The Lord's Work, Inc.  
The New Order  
The New Paganism  
*The Order*  
*The Other Side*  
*The Patriot Review*  
The Pure American Party  
The Regulators  
The Servant  
The Southern Justice  
*The Speaker Newsletter*  
The Transvaal Separatists  
*The Upright Ostrich*  
The Vigilantes  
The White Beret  
The White Church  
The White Knights in the Heartland  
The White Patriot  
The White Warlords  
Thor's Hammer Kindred, Inc.  
Traditional Values Coalition  
United Klans of America  
United Skins  
United Southern Skins  
United White Working Class  
Unity of Aryan Women  
U.S. Skins  
U.S.A. Nationalist Party  
U.S.H.A.  
Utah State Guard  
*Viking Viewpoint*  
*Voice of Liberty Newsletter*  
W.A.S.H.  
W.A.U./M.G.  
WAR Subscription List  
WARskins  
WARskins, San Diego Unit  
Western Hammer Skins  
White American Political Assn.  
White Aryan Resistance  
White Awareness  
White Camelia Knights of the KKK  
White Christian Women  
White Knights of the KKK  
White Liberation Movement  
White Nationalist League  
White Peoples Party  
White Point Publishing  
White Pride Skins  
White Student Patriot Union  
White Student Union  
White Unity  
White Unity Party  
*White World Newsletter*  
White Youth Alliance  
Woodbrook Chapel  
Word of Christ Mission  
Wyoming Knights of the KKK  
Youngblood  
Your Heritage Church  
Your Heritage Protection Assn.  
*Your Maine to Oregon Independent*  
Informers  
Youth for Hitler



Rep. Fred Busby (R-Ill.) pressed Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming:

Busby: Do you have any knowledge as to who in your organization contacts the Anti-Defamation League...and checks their files, and how often they go to their offices and check their files for leads for your files?

Flemming: I do not know, and I do not have such information.

Busby: How does this information get into your files, then?

Flemming: There may be some contacts. In some instances it may be publications.<sup>37</sup>

No matter how the government obtained the files, it is clear that, as far back as 1947, ADL had been collecting names of alleged subversives which were used in anti-communist repressions.

Spying extended to leaders of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Henry Schwartzchild, who worked in the ADL publications department between 1962 and 1964, reported that the ADL had spied on the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. on behalf of the FBI.<sup>38</sup>

### Redefining Anti-Semitism

The founding of the State of Israel and, even more so, the 1967 Middle East War changed ADL's view of its mission. Prior to World War II, the League focused on domestic issues and "historically distanced itself from the issues of Israel and Zionism." Until 1967, it supported Israel without making that country central to ADL policy or Jewish identity. Then, ADL philosophy became: "Anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism," i.e., "criticism of Israel reflects insensitivity to American Jews and constitutes a form of anti-Semitism."<sup>39</sup>

This change in mission sparked internal opposition. Saul E. Jofes had been an officer of B'nai B'rith, ADL's parent organization, for 25 years. After he was fired as Executive Secretary of the International Council of the B'nai B'rith in 1970, he lamented that B'nai B'rith

has become an international organization engaged in other things besides charitable, religious, and educational activities. It is no longer non-profit. It engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the Government of Israel. Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions. I had tried to prevent this change. ...[I have resisted] attempts by Israeli Zionists to dictate B'nai B'rith policy.<sup>40</sup>

37. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

38. George Cothran and Peter Hagerty, "Spies for Zion," *San Francisco Weekly*, April 28, 1993.

39. O'Brien, *op. cit.*; Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism* (New York: ADL, 1974). Foster was ADL general counsel; Epstein was ADL national director.

40. *Saul E. Jofes v. Rabbi Jay Kaufman*, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, C.A. No. 3271-67, pp. 3, 7, 8. Affidavit filed in a 1970 employment termination lawsuit.

Among the documents attached to the Jofes affidavit was a letter from ADL National Director Benjamin R. Epstein to Jofes:

As you know, the Anti-Defamation League for many years has maintained a very important, confidential investigative coverage of Arab activities and propaganda. ...Our information, in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the U.S. State Department and the Israeli Government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge of each that we were the source.<sup>41</sup>

### Targeting Critics of Israel and Arab-Americans

As part of its goal of promoting Israeli interests, the ADL has long sought to undermine support in the U.S. for Palestinian and Arab rights. It has labeled Arab-American and pro-Arab groups as either a "mouthpiece of the PLO" or in the pay of petro-dollar governments.<sup>42</sup>

Critics of Israeli policy, including Noam Chomsky, were targeted for investigation. The MIT professor's 150-page dossier included articles, letters, and statements by and about him. Chomsky concluded that his talks are regularly monitored and that ADL used its files in a "coordinated effort to discredit or counter" critics of Israeli policies.<sup>43</sup>

In November 1983, the ADL circulated to many campus Jewish leaders a secret list of campus groups and of academics and other professionals involved in Middle East studies. Stamped "Confidential," the blacklist was accompanied by a letter from ADL New England Director Leonard Zakim denouncing their contribution to the "alarming increase in anti-Semitic incidents and anti-Israel propaganda." On November 30, 1984, the Middle East Studies Association passed a resolution protesting the "creation, storage or dissemination of blacklists, enemy lists" or surveys that call for boycotting individuals or for intimidating scholars. Jeffrey Ross, the League's National Director of Campus Affairs, called the list "an unfortunate incident that would not be repeated," but reaffirmed ADL's commitment to collect and disseminate information on anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activities.<sup>44</sup>

More worrisome to Arab-Americans was the revelation in the 1970s that ADL was collecting data on Arab-American political activity and providing it to the FBI on a regular basis. Moreover, according to a former high Israeli intelligence official, the U.S. and Israel regularly traded information on Arabs, including U.S. citizens living in the U.S.<sup>45</sup>

41. *Ibid.* The July 7, 1961 letter was written as part of a request to the International Council of B'nai B'rith for a \$25,000 grant to carry on these activities.

42. George White, "Detroit's Arab-American Community: Thriving and Active," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 5, 1982; and Irving Spiegel, "Jewish Unit Asserts Arabs Run Big Drive Against Israel in U.S.," *New York Times*, November 7, 1975.

43. Naseer H. Aruri, "The Middle East on the U.S. Campus," *The Link* (New York), May-June 1985, pp. 5-6.

44. Colin Campbell, "Middle East Scholars Upset By List," *New York Times*, January 30, 1985.

45. David Young, "Arabs in U.S. Accuse FBI of Spying on Them," *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 1975.

This collaboration continues and has resulted in harassment of Arab-Americans. After the ADL provided information to the federal authorities on seven Palestinian men and one Kenyan woman living in California, the targets were rounded up in dragnet arrests and charged with violating the McCarran-Walter provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act or other technical violations of their immigration status. While this case generated a considerable amount of media criticism of the government's attempts to use the immigration law for political purposes, very little appeared about the ADL's role in the case.<sup>46</sup>

### Israel and the ADL Mission

The disclosure of Bullock's and Gerard's secret files, dramatic as it is, simply spotlights ADL's well-established pattern of information gathering. This case provides indisputable evidence of ADL's inappropriate relations with official intelligence and police organizations.

The San Francisco revelations have galvanized public outrage. Many individuals and groups are demanding the release of all files and a full and impartial investigation of possible criminal wrongdoing. Activists attending packed meetings of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the Police Commission suspect that the SFPD has been consistently flouting its own guidelines by conducting or abetting illegal spying.

Ninety organizations, including *CovertAction*, have asked the National Lawyers Guild (also a target of the spying) to obtain their files. A group of 19 people and groups opposed to apartheid or Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories have launched a class action suit charging Gerard, Bullock, Hirschhaut, and the ADL with violating California laws by collecting and disseminating confidential information.<sup>47</sup>

Arab-American groups are working particularly hard to bring the case to national attention and to challenge the SFPD to conduct a vigorous investigation. Hundreds of individuals have sent in notarized requests for their files. Many more around the country are trying to determine if their local police department exchanged information with the ADL on Arab-Americans in their communities. The targeted groups are concerned that political considerations and hardball public relations efforts by the ADL will force San Francisco law enforcement officials to downplay criminal wrongdoing by the ADL and its staff.<sup>48</sup>

Never before has the close collaboration of a private political spy network with regular law enforcement officials been exposed to the degree that it has here. The implications are enormous. Many individuals and organizations have given support to ADL and what it purported to stand for: combating racism and religious hatred and sensitizing Americans to discrimination.

These same groups now find that they were targets of ADL spying and that by supporting ADL, they were, in effect, supporting secret surveillance on themselves. ADL's cooperation with federal, state, and local police agencies which spied on progressives has damaged hopes for a broad-based civil rights coalition and agenda. Because of their past experience with ADL on Palestinian and Arab-American issues, Arab-Americans especially have reacted with fear and distrust.

ADL's response has been to defend its methods, downplay its role, and lash out against its critics. When ADL National Director Abraham Foxman went on a damage control tour of West Coast media offices and Jewish organizations, he denounced ADL critics as "anti-Semitic, undemocratic, and anti-American...bastards."<sup>49</sup> In light of consistent stonewalling and attacks, it is perhaps unrealistic to expect ADL to acknowledge officially and forthrightly its wrongdoing, to confine future information gathering to legitimate areas, and to end its dissemination of information on Arab-Americans and others.

What is required then is a carefully thought out and organized program of informational campaigns, lawsuits, organized public pressure, and condemnation from leaders of all sectors of society to place offenders on notice: The abuses of private/public political surveillance will not be tolerated. This effort is a challenge that faces Arab-Americans, anti-apartheid activists, and progressives. It is also a challenge for those ADL members and supporters who believe that the ADL mission does not include political spying.

49. Garth Wolkoff, "ADL chief lashes out at critics, press, D.A.," *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, May 7, 1993.

46. Ron Soble, "Deportation Bid in Arab Case Focuses on Magazines," *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 1987.

47. *Shabbas, et al. v. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, et al.*, Civil Action No. 951031, Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco. Filed April 14, 1993.

48. Opatrny and Winokur, "S.F. Police to Limit Its Spy Probe," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 25, 1993.

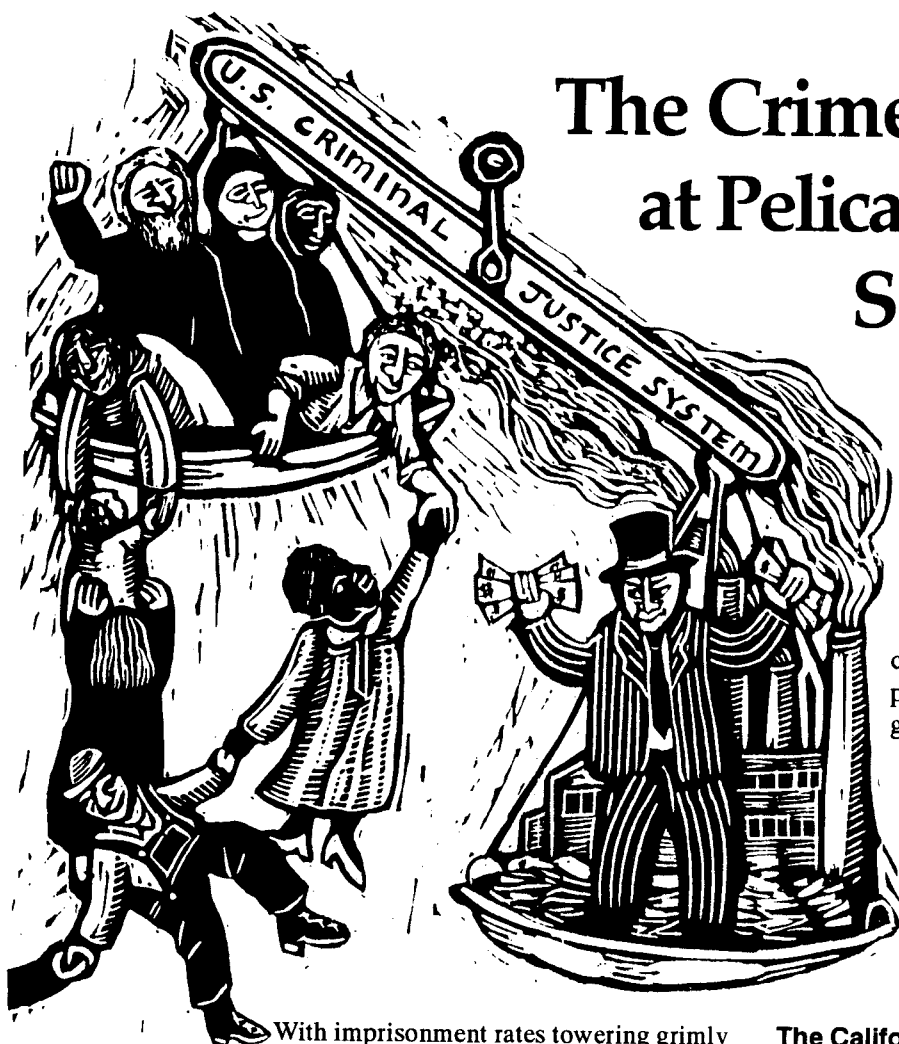
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# The Crime of Punishment at Pelican Bay Maximum Security Prison

Corey Weinstein

Eric Cummins

come social control tools to manage the nation's disposable populations. Ostensibly designed to control disruptions, punish inmates, and break up prison gangs, these new facilities actually engender more violence. By exploiting racial tensions, they are deepening the already profound fissures in the U.S. social order. The rage they spawn is unleashed first on the prison yard and then onto the public streets when the prisoners are paroled. This prison system makes visible, through the still-smoking embers of South Central L.A., the tinderbox we are creating for the 21st century.

With imprisonment rates towering grimly over those of the most infamous police states such as South Africa and the People's Republic of China, the United States in 1992 leads the world in putting its people behind bars. The number of U.S. prisoners — over one million — has doubled since 1980 and tripled since 1970, with ethnic minorities forming a growing percentage of the inmate population.<sup>1</sup>

The U.S. has nourished this social crisis by abandoning the goal of rehabilitation touted from the 1950s through the 1970s, and turning to high-tech dungeons that violate basic standards of human decency and international law.<sup>2</sup> A recent survey by the Federal Bureau of Prisons found that 36 states now operate some form of super-maximum security prison or unit within a prison.<sup>3</sup> These "maxi-maxi" prisons have be-

## The California Model

In the race toward mass imprisonment, no state has outdone California, the nation's leading jailer. Home to 11 percent of the U.S. population, California incarcerates more people than any other state, has more than twice as many inmates in its jails as any other state in the country, and holds an astounding 20 percent of this country's juvenile prisoners. From 1982 to 1990, while spending for schools and other social programs was savagely reduced, funding for the state's prisons soared 359 percent, doubling the number of prisons and tripling the number of prisoners.<sup>4</sup>

California also leads the trend to isolate prisoners in high security prisons with special control units. Security Housing Unit (SHU), Level IV, maximum security, administrative segregation, and other high security cells housed about 10 percent of the California Department of Corrections (CDoC) prisoners in 1991.<sup>5</sup>

In the seven prisons recently opened or scheduled for opening in California, 25 percent of the cells are high security

Corey Weinstein, MD, is the co-director of the Pelican Bay Information Project, board member of the California Prisoners Rights Union, and chair of the Jail and Prison Health Committee of the American Public Health Association.

Eric Cummins is a writer and lecturer at San Jose State University. His book *The Rise and Fall of the California Radical Prison Movement* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press) will be published in Winter 1993.

1. National Institute of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, D.C., 1991.

2. In 1991, Human Rights Watch issued *Prison Conditions in the United States*. Findings were based on a review of 27 penal institutions, the last 8 years of prison litigation, and interviews with experts and journalists. The report documented "numerous human rights abuses and frequent violations of the U.N. Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners." ("Prison Conditions in the United States," Human Rights Watch, New York, N.Y., p. 4.)

3. Ward Churchill, *Cages of Steel* (Washington, D.C.: Maisonneuve, 1993), p. 140.

4. "More Prisons Don't Create a Safer Society," *San Jose Mercury News*, February 8, 1990.

5. *Weekly Report of Population, Youth & Adult Correctional Agency*, State of California, January 31, 1993. Seventy percent of planned prison construction for the 1990s is for medium and maximum security prisons.

with 750 SHU cells and 3,000 more maximum security cells.<sup>6</sup> This allocation ensures that punitive warehousing will remain the function of prisons well into the future.

### Isolation and Violence

In 1989, the CDoC unveiled its state-of-the-art weapon against crime: a 1,056-cell SHU at Pelican Bay State Prison near Crescent City. Within the main unit, the X-shaped SHU is a high-tech replica of the nation's earliest prisons which featured solitary cells. These bleak grey torture chambers are now showcased nationwide as a 21st century prototype.

As with its 18th century ancestor, the key to control within the SHU is to minimize human contact and maximize sensory deprivation. A Pelican Bay SHU inmate is guaranteed at least 22-and-a-half hours of bleak confinement. Almost half of the cells, designed for one prisoner, are now overcrowded with two men per cell. The SHU prisoner has little or no face-to-face contact with others — not even with guards, who have been largely replaced by round-the-clock electronic surveillance. The inmate sits in a windowless cell with a poured-concrete sleeping slab, immobile concrete stool, small concrete writing platform behind a thick, honeycombed steel-plated door. Guards monitor him from control booths with video cameras and communicate through speakers. A SHU prisoner never sees the light of day. He may not decorate his white cell walls. He has no job, educational classes, vocational training, counseling, religious services, or communal activities. No hobbies are permitted to help pass the time. The prisoner eats in his cell from a dinner tray passed through a slot in the door. Once a day he may exercise alone in a small, indoor, bare "dog walk" without exercise equipment, toilet, or water. He is strip-searched before and after this strictly monitored exercise. Because each of the 132 eight-cell pods has its own exercise area, this procedure is more a ritual of humiliation than a security precaution. Whenever a prisoner is moved from place to place, he is handcuffed before exit from his cell, shackled hands to waist, hobble-chained ankle-to-ankle, accompanied by two guards, and observed on video monitors.<sup>7</sup>

Isolation is strictly enforced. The eight-cell pods are unconnected. The eight to twelve prisoners within each pod cannot pass anything from cell to cell or communicate easily. Even the tier tender, a SHU prisoner who sweeps the pod walkways, is not allowed to speak to anyone as he passes the cells.

Outside communications are also tightly controlled. Prison authorities delay mail for weeks, withhold it for trivial or inconsistent reasons, and open privileged attorney-client communication.<sup>8</sup> Televisions and radios are available for purchase, but since the TV brings in six Colorado cable

stations and the radio only gets local stations, prisoners have a hard time getting hometown or even general California news. Severe restrictions on books prompted the Seattle-based Books to Prisoners to protest, "We're unable to send books in there, and it's extremely frustrating to have to tell prisoners 'Sorry.'" <sup>9</sup>

Guards and administrative staff also restrict news and leak false information to the media. In the late summer of 1992, for example, after a prisoner was murdered by another inmate at Pelican Bay, prison staff tried to deflect an investigation by blaming gang drug wars.<sup>10</sup>

### The Silence of the Cells

CDoC authorities defend the near absolute control of communications and environment as necessary to suppress violence. And while inmate-to-inmate violence is certainly



Pelican Bay Information Project

**Inside a SHU pod: In their only time out of the cell, prisoners are allowed to exercise once a day in this stark "dog walk."**

reduced within the SHU, the level of physical and mental abuse perpetrated by guards against prisoners is extreme. Minor offenses, such as refusing to return a cup in protest of

6. 1991-1996 Facilities Master Plan, California Department of Corrections document, April 1991, Section 3.

7. While Pelican Bay prisoners are all male, the Central California Women's Facility near Chowchilla, California has its own small modern SHU.

8. Weinstein interviews with prisoners; also cited in lawsuit *Madrid v. Gomez*, Case No. C-90-3094 (TEH) in U.S. District Court California.

9. Letter sent by "Books to Prisoners" to prisoners. Pelican Bay Information Project (PBIP). PBIP (2489 Mission St., #28, San Francisco, CA 94110) has conducted two investigative tours interviewing inmates, prison staff, visitors, and Crescent City residents. Those tours and the continuing investigation and monitoring of Pelican Bay SHU conditions provide much of the information for this article.

10. Steve Selke, "Prison Staff Thinks Killing Was a Gang Hit," *Triplicate* (Crescent City), September 11, 1992.





Stephanie Rausser/Impact Visuals

**Inmates at San Francisco county jail. From 1980-90, prison population increased 130 percent.**

cold coffee or declining to attend an optional hearing, can result in "cell extraction." In this brutal procedure, a team of six to eight guards in combat gear — with face visors and riot shields — often shoots and wounds the prisoner with a pellet gun and then with a taser stun-gun before opening the cell door. Once the door is open, the guards rush inside, beat the prisoner, and fully restrain him with chains. Once restrained, the inmate is often beaten again, and then left hog-tied for hours in the corridor or a cell.<sup>11</sup>

Verbal harassment is another common form of abuse. Guards taunt prisoners with threats, denial of simple requests, or by boasting about their latest beating. The largely Latin-American (approximately 59 percent) and African-American (approximately 23 percent) SHU population complain that the predominately white guards also commonly direct racial slurs against them.<sup>12</sup>

Faced with constant harassment, sensory deprivation, and isolation, some prisoners become enraged and aggressive. Others retreat into themselves, choose to sleep most of the day, refuse exercise, stop writing to family and friends, and turn on their lights only to get food or medication. Some enter a private world of madness, scream incessantly in their cells, and even cover themselves with their own feces. This psychological decay is worse for prisoners who cannot afford a state-issued T.V. or radio. The often confused and delusional prisoners who are on psychiatric medication and housed in what is called the "ding-block" are victims of an even higher frequency of abuse.

11. PBIP investigation, 1991-92.

12. Weinstein interview, CDoC Public Information Office, Pelican Bay State Prison, April 22, 1992.

The devastating consequences of long-term solitary confinement are predictable and well-documented. In his 1980 study at Walpole, Massachusetts prison, Dr. Stuart Grassian confirmed the impact of isolation. Prisoners developed:

vivid hallucinations of sight, sound, smell and touch; dissociative features including sudden recovery 'as from a dream' with amnesia for the events of the psychosis; agitation and motor excitement with aimless violence; delusions, usually described as persecutory.<sup>13</sup>

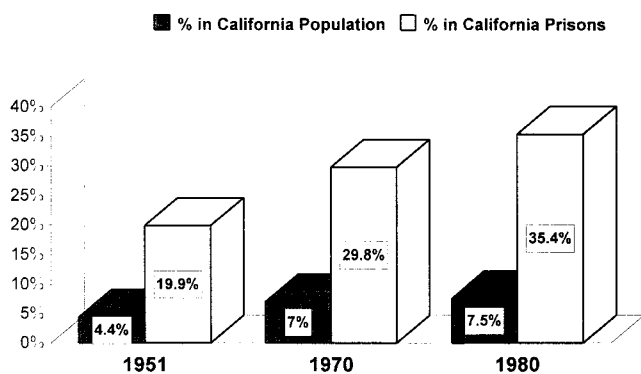
Grassian's study suggests an ominous self-fulfilling prophecy: SHU will drive men mad, predispose them to violence, and thus legitimize their solitary confinement.

### **Snitch, Parole, or Die**

The Institutional Classification Committee at Pelican Bay — essentially a kangaroo court — decides which prisoners are confined in the SHU. Their decisions range from vindictive to arbitrary, and are often based on vague information from confidential informants. Some SHU inmates have attacked guards and participated in fights (often after deliberate provocation), or have been caught with weapons.<sup>14</sup> Other

13. Stuart Grassian, "Psychopathological Effects of Solitary Confinement," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, November 1983, p. 1450. This study of men housed at Walpole also documents effects going back to 19th century Germany.

14. Throughout 1988 and 1989, just before the opening of Pelican Bay, an unprecedented number of fights occurred at the California State Prison at Corcoran near the city of Fresno in the Central Valley. Prisoners housed in the Corcoran SHU (which still serves as a lesser SHU with 750 cells) reported that prison authorities exacerbated fighting in the yard by releasing known enemies at the same time and permitting unequal numbers of rival gang members to "exercise" together. They set up prisoners by putting enemies in the same cell, housing



Jay Weedon

California African-Americans in prison, 1951-1980

prisoners are consigned to the SHU as punishment for exercising their legal rights, such as filing suits against the CDoC or engaging in political activity and resistance. Still others were simply in the wrong place at the wrong time.

In about half the cases, however, the decision to send a man to a SHU is based on a charge of gang affiliation or membership.<sup>15</sup> Consistent with the CDoC's intent to make the Pelican Bay SHU its first-line weapon against prison gangs, all gang-linked inmates receive an indeterminate sentence. Once linked to a gang, the prisoner's only hope for release from the SHU is to snitch, wait to be paroled, or die. Snitching requires that a prisoner confess violations of prison rules to the Criminal Activities Coordinator and implicate gang members in illegal acts. Since it is illegal, even in wartime, to isolate a prisoner to extract information, this policy violates not only U.S. law but the Geneva Convention.<sup>16</sup>

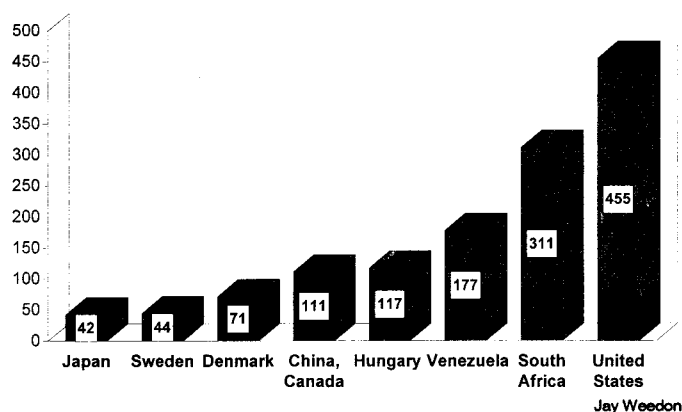
The SHU prisoner with an indeterminate sentence is in an untenable situation: If he snitches, he becomes a target for retaliation by those he implicates and must become a regular informant to maintain the protection of the guards. SHU inmates who choose not to snitch or have no information to trade for freedom remain confined indefinitely. Others use snitching to their advantage by falsely accusing enemies of being gang members, and recruit new inmates into gangs by threatening to snitch. Many who are pressured into snitching just try to name the lone wolf, the mentally unstable, the individual entrepreneurs (inmates who sell drugs, sex, condoms, collect debts, etc.) or anyone too weak to retaliate.<sup>17</sup>

someone with a mentally-ill prisoner, or announcing a prisoner's crime of rape or child molestation. The guards then often stood by and watched the inevitable clashes, called "cock fights," as if they were sporting events. Prisoners allege that the cock fights—often directed against Latino-American prisoners—were instigated to "prove" that the Corcoran SHU was inadequate and to justify transfer of prisoners to the newly-constructed Pelican Bay SHU. (Prisoners Rights Union of California, Sacramento, Calif., 1988-89.)

15. Independent investigation by PBIP based on interviews and available roster lists.

16. Nigel Rodley, *Treatment of Prisoners Under International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) p. 359.

17. Catherine Campbell, "A House of Cards, A Pack of Lies: Pelican Bay Debriefing," *The California Prisoner*, December 1991.



Jay Weedon

Comparative world imprisonment rates per 100,000 population

Inmates released from SHU are automatically assumed to have gotten out because they snitched. Retaliation against inmates suspected of complicity has helped give B Yard (the exercise area in Pelican Bay's adjacent 2,200-man maximum security section) the reputation as the most violent in California's 106,000-person prison system. Guards reported 67 stabbings there in a single three-month stretch during 1992.<sup>18</sup> In 1993, one inmate died and 21 were injured in Pelican Bay's largest gang fight to date, involving 23 men.<sup>19</sup>

"The way the system works," said one Pelican Bay prisoner, "is that the guards run it. Prisoners have no more power. Back in '84 to '85, prisoners had power, they ran the prisons, and the guards had to treat prisoners with respect. That's all changed because of Pelican Bay. Now you have to snitch to get any favors at all, even a phone call. Snitch or stay here [in SHU]. This is an atmosphere of total fear."<sup>20</sup>

## Rehab and Race

Pelican Bay as prototype prison of the future is a clear repudiation of the "treatment era" prison. What is more, its misguided efforts to control gangs and violence in CDoC by returning to the tortures of the pre-treatment past have backfired and made Pelican Bay an extraordinarily violent place. The forces that sent the rehabilitative model to an early grave are complex. Perhaps the most important component—the racial inequity that pervades society—is reflected in the justice system, and then reproduced in prison.

Source for graphs: M. Mauer, *Americans Behind Bars: One Year Later*, The Sentencing Project, Washington, D.C., 1992.

18. PBIP interviews with guards and reporters during 1992 investigative visit.

19. "Prison Fight Involves 23 in Level 1," *Triplicate* (Crescent City, Calif.), January 23, 1993.

20. Weinstein interview, August 1992, San Francisco. An ex-political prisoner who served many years in the federal system blames the high-tech security innovations such as electronic surveillance for the increased brutality. Formerly, he explains, prisoners and guards in maximum security prisons shared space and depended for their personal safety on a mutually understood, negotiated peace which allowed both groups to carry out their daily activities. Screened by high-tech security and authorized to punish and incapacitate prisoners, Pelican Bay guards now have no such restraints and, as a consequence, the physical and psychological abuse they deliver is extreme and routine.

## Lawsuit Challenges Terror

Shortly after the Pelican Bay SHU opened in late 1989, prisoners sent out an avalanche of letters complaining about the conditions. Within months jailhouse-lawyer suits were being sent to the Federal District Court alleging cruel and unusual punishment. So compelling and numerous were the legal documents that presiding judge Thelton Henderson asked Wilson, Sonsini, Goodrich and Rosati, a large Palo Alto law firm, to review the 250 suits and prepare a class action civil rights suit.

*Madrid v. Gomez* will come to trial in the summer of 1993. It alleges that conditions at Pelican Bay violate the 1st, 6th, 8th, and 14th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Particularly egregious is the lack of medical care: Even in crises such as acute appendicitis, prisoner-patients have been examined through the cell door or food port, if at all. Spanish language translation is not provided despite the high number of Spanish-speaking prisoners. Psychiatric care is inadequate, and prisoners suffering from severe psychiatric disorders are treated as disciplinary problems and thrown naked into the Violence Control Unit—a strip cell with a plastic cover on the steel door. Prisoners who engage in persistent violent and irrational behavior have been chained to their toilets for days and forced to eat like dogs, lapping food from their trays.

The suit further alleges that the administration fails to investigate and discipline guards for violations such as staff use of force, routine cell extraction, and hog-tying for alleged rules infractions which either did not occur or did not warrant the level of violence used. Guards use a "shoot to kill" policy when breaking up fights in the B Yard, adding to the atmosphere of fear and violence in the yard.

Further, Pelican Bay officials are charged with reading confidential legal mail, mishandling legal and personal mail, and denying access to the law library and legal assistance. Prisoners are improperly classified as gang members and subjected to unfair hearings. The suit challenges the entire "snitch, parole, or die" policy and characterizes Pelican Bay as a "system of terror, deprivation, and isolation" which constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment."

\* *Madrid v. Gomez* (#C-90-3094), *op. cit.*

Prisons are increasingly and disproportionately non-white, with the Pelican Bay SHU particularly targeting Latino-Americans. While only about 15 percent of the state population, in 1992 Latinos make up 37 percent of the CDOC prisoners and 59 percent of the Pelican Bay SHU population.<sup>21</sup> One rumored explanation for this dramatic discrepancy in the SHU is that in 1989 just before PB was opened, officials at Folsom Prison cut a deal with African-American gangs: If they would control yard violence at Folsom, rival Latino gangs would be transferred to Pelican Bay.<sup>22</sup>

The percentage of blacks in California prisons also far exceeds their representation in the population (see p. 41) and the pattern goes back decades. Around World War II, a disproportionate number of African-Americans—many of whom migrated to California for jobs in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries—ended up in prison. By 1970, African-Americans made up only 7 percent of the state's population, yet prisons were 29.8 percent black. By 1993, in the U.S. as a whole, African-American men suffered an incarceration rate of over 3,000 per 100,000, six times the national average. South Africa was able to maintain apartheid at the much lower rate of 729 per 100,000.<sup>23</sup>

At every stage in the justice system—arrest, pre-trial hearing, conviction, sentencing, classification hearing during imprisonment, and parole hearing—California's African-Americans and other minorities received harsher penalties than whites.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, no other group of prisoners showed more rage at the persecuting machinery of the state than California's black inmates. In the early 1950s, in the relatively freer atmosphere of the "treatment era" prison, black prisoners began to seize and dominate the state's prison yards as a means of fighting segregation and reversing their position at the bottom of the convict caste system. As the 1950s Civil Rights movement heated up outside the walls, the Nation of Islam mounted a nationwide prisoner recruitment drive which made it the movement's in-prison arm. By 1960, the Nation had 65,000-100,000 members, many in prison.<sup>25</sup> Although the group originally advocated submission to authority, prison officials overreacted. They banned the group, broke up Muslim meetings, and segregated militants in solitary cells called Adjustment Centers (ACs). These ACs were predecessors to the SHU.

21. Weinstein interview, CDOC Public Information Office, Pelican Bay State Prison, April 22, 1992.

22. Unsubstantiated letters to Prisoners Rights Union, 1989.

23. Alan Ryan, "Preparing for the Twenty-First Century Blues," *New York Review of Books*, May 13, 1993, p. 23.

24. Many researchers have noted the ways in which U.S. criminal justice has codified and perpetuated the wrongs of the culture at large. See R.L. McNeeley and Carl E. Pope, eds., *Race, Crime and Criminal Justice* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1981); Robert Staples, "White Racism, Black Crime, and American Justice: An Application of the Colonial Model to Explain Crime and Race," *Phylon*, Vol. 36, No. 1, March 1975, pp. 14-23; Gary G. Koch and Stevens Clarke, "The Influence of Income and Other Factors on Whether Criminal Defendants Go To Prison," *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Fall 1976, pp. 57-93; Leo Carroll and Margaret E. Mondrick, "Racial Bias in the Decision to Grant Parole," *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Fall 1976, pp. 93-109.

25. Manning Marable, *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1982* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1984), p. 60.

## The Risk of Prison Gangs

In the early 1960s, these ACs were showcased as humane alternatives to dungeons of the past. The state considered them the ultimate rehabilitative tool through which incorrigible prisoners could receive intensive daily rehabilitative psychiatric assistance as well as group counseling, quality education, and a specially designed work program. ACs soon evolved into prisons within prisons, with their own exercise yards, dining rooms, and schools. Although designed for a maximum of three-month "rehabilitation," they soon became a long-term solution to undermine inmate organization and isolate political agitators such as Muslims.

This repression peaked when Muslim temple minister Booker T. (X) Johnson was killed in 1963 by a gunrail officer in San Quentin's AC. His successor, Eldridge Cleaver, established links to radicals outside San Quentin, proving to California's prisoners that a radical convict political union could change power relations within the prison. A year later, as if inspired by this insight, the California prison gang system emerged. An increasingly vocal

minority of politicized prisoners formed political gangs in an emerging revolutionary convict culture. They founded groups like the Black Family/Black Guerrilla Family, and the San Quentin chapter of the Black Panther Party. These prison gangs were an attempt by the disenfranchised to exercise control over their immediate environment and to reverse the effects of racial discrimination. Other gangs, including the Aryan Brotherhood, La Nuestra Familia, and La Eme (the Mexican Mafia), were political only to the extent that controlling the yard and the inmate *sub rosa* economy entailed reshuffling power relations within the prison.

All the gangs provided crucial social, economic, and security services which helped prisoners survive the human degradation, deprivation, violence of incarceration, and endemic racism.

With the advent of the California prison gang system, inmate fights and yard attacks escalated, resulting in the deaths of guards and prisoners. Inmate assaults against guards jumped from 32 system-wide in 1969 to 84 in 1973.<sup>26</sup>

26. "Task Force to Study Violence Report and Recommendations," Table 1, California Department of Corrections working paper, July 1974, now in the papers of James Park.

Gang members, revolutionaries, prisoner union organizers, and jailhouse lawyers joined the radical Muslims in the AC. This AC was now a transformed unit which no longer sought to rehabilitate, but to punish, to limit treatment and education, and to restrict human contact. By the end of the 1960s, the Adjustment Centers—which became the prototype for Pelican Bay—were filled with political "troublemakers."

In 1970 a Soledad, California prison AC gunrail officer killed three black prisoners. Inmate George Jackson declared one-for-one vengeance on guard staff. Almost immediately, a young white guard's corpse was thrown from a cell tier. Responding in kind, California prisons came down swiftly on prisoners by beginning to control movement, access to information, visitors and legal services. From his cell in San Quentin's AC, which was by now a hotbed of revolutionary

thought, George Jackson secretly composed his book, *Blood In My Eye*, a call to guerrilla action.<sup>27</sup>

On August 21, 1971, the San Quentin AC inmates tried a takeover, ending in the deaths of Jackson, two other inmates and three guards. Three wounded guards recovered.

That autumn, prison riots swept the country. In the bloodiest of these, at Attica Correctional Institution in New York State, 32 prisoners and 11 staff died when police and a National Guard army put down the uprising with gas, helicopters, and heavy gunfire.

Authorities cracked down hard around the country. By 1972, cellblocks at San Quentin were subdivided for closer inmate scrutiny and inmate contact with outsiders was severely cut back. From the AC, reports of widespread beatings and other prisoner abuses began to reach the courts.<sup>28</sup> That same year, Governor Ronald Reagan called for the development of new, high-tech, maximum security prisons to deal with what he termed "troublemakers." Moe Comacho, then-president of the California Correctional Officers Association, seconded the call. And in 1973 the House Internal Security Committee began conducting hearings on revolution in U.S.

27. George Jackson, *Blood In My Eye* (New York: Random House, 1972).

28. Eric Cummins, *The Rise and Fall of California's Radical Prison Movement*, op. cit.; see House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on the Judiciary, Edwin T. Caldwell, *Prisons, Prison Reform, and Prisoners' Rights: California* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 72-76; see also accounts of inmate beatings in *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 25-27, 1971.



The SHU super maximum security unit (l.) holds 1,250 prisoners; the "mainline" (r.) is the Level Four maximum custody facility for general population.

Pelican Bay Prison



## Counting the Cost of Racism

### Prison population

- Between 1980 and 1990, the number of inmates increased 130%.
- In the U.S., 1 million are in prison with another 3 million on parole or probation. State prison populations have on average quadrupled in the past 20 years.
- Between 1969 and 1989, the U.S. cut its education budget by 25% and increased allocation to the criminal justice system by 400%.
- The criminal justice system has become the country's largest growth industry.

### African-Americans and Prisons

- One out of every two African-American men is likely to be arrested during his lifetime.
- One in four black males between 20 and 29 is incarcerated, on probation or on parole.
- A black man is 7.5 times more likely to be arrested than a white man.
- Black men are 6% of the population, but 44% of prison inmates.
- On any given day in 1991, 56% of black men between 18 and 35 years old in Baltimore and 42% in Washington, D.C. were under control of the criminal justice system.
- An 18-year-old black man in Washington, D.C. stands a 75 percent chance of being arrested by the time he is 35 if current trends continue.
- Of prisoners on death row, 41% are black men.

### Drugs and Prisons

- In 1990, for the first time, more inmates were jailed for drug-related offenses than for property or violent crimes.
- One-third of people sent to prison in 1990 were drug offenders, up from 11.9% in 1977.
- Although they make up only about 12% of the nation's drug users, 43% of felony offenders convicted of drug trafficking in state courts were black.
- In New York, in 1989, 92% of those caught in drug busts were black or Latino.
- Eighty percent of drug users are white.
- Of those arrested for drugs, 7% are white.
- Of those allotted state-funded drug treatment slots, 47% are white.
- In 1980, 25% of inmates were drug offenders; by January 1992, they made up 75% of all new inmates since 1987.

Sources: Salim Muwakkil, "The criminal just-us system," *In These Times*, April 19, 1993, pp. 26-27; and AP, "Nation's Prison Population Rises 7.2%," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1993.

prisons, Attica and San Quentin in particular, with a mind to devising ways of putting down the ongoing turmoil.<sup>29</sup>

The legacy of the August 21 San Quentin takeover and the subsequent uprisings fed the official drive to build the largest solitary confinement prison in the United States—the SHU at Pelican Bay.

### Prisoner Resistance

The new SHU at Pelican Bay goes farther than the ACs, with physical and programmatic features that make it a more effective control unit. It is also far more inhumane. Conditions have provoked resistance and protest both inside and outside the prison walls. Equal Justice U.S.A., a Washington, D.C.-based human rights organization, catalogued more than 100 organized or spontaneous prison rebellions nationwide in 1989 and 1990. In 1992, protests, demonstrations, teach-ins, forums, marches, and rallies focused on Control Unit Prisons and racism in the criminal justice system in at least 12 states and Canada.<sup>30</sup>

Prison authorities met protest with force rather than reform. In January 1991, for example, a Pelican Bay guard on a late night shift harassed Latino prisoners, swearing at them and making grossly racist comments. In the morning, the prisoners refused to return their breakfast trays until they could protest the abuse to a lieutenant. The prison responded by cell extracting 20 prisoners, including those who were willing to return their trays. The guards left prisoners hog-tied on the walkway outside their cells for eight hours, while the medical staff refused requests for medical attention. Wearing only underwear, the prisoners were then moved to different cells and deprived of soap, toilet paper, and other basic amenities. Those who protested were put in the Violence Control Unit.<sup>31</sup>

In another recent incident, during the spring of 1992, prisoners at the Westville, Indiana Maximum Control Complex went on a prolonged hunger strike to protest such abuses as being hosed with cold water in their cells, lack of TV, clocks, repeated strip searches, and five-point restraint for days at a time. A few even cut off the ends of their fingers and tried to send their flesh to the ACLU to dramatize their need for help. A year earlier, 53 inmates at the Southport Correctional Facility, a maxi-maxi facility in New York State, took four guards hostage. Their demands included an end to verbal and physical abuse, more mental and physical health care, more heat in winter, and improved grievance procedures. For 26 hours, the prisoners negotiated with prison officials and finally agreed to release the guards unharmed and to return peacefully to their cells in exchange for a chance to air grievances to a camera crew from a local TV station.<sup>32</sup>

29. Cummins, *op. cit.*

30. "Walking Steel," Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, Fall 1992, Chicago, Ill., p. 6.

31. PBIP investigation, 1991-92.

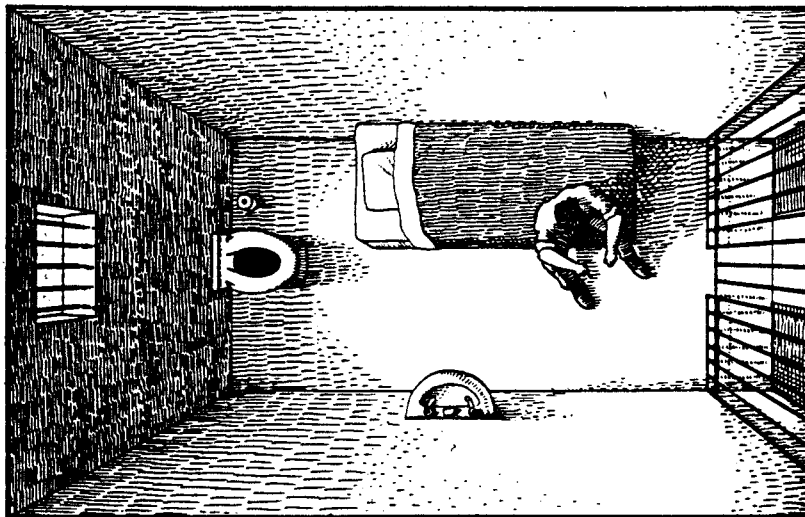
32. *Attica in 1991: Southport Uprising, A Look At Reality, A Human Rights Monitor*, Quixote Center, Hyattsville, Md., October 1991.

In April 1993, at the notorious maximum security facility in Lucasville, Ohio, 450 men mounted an 11-day siege. This uprising again demonstrated prisoners' willingness to risk all to gain improvements in the conditions of confinement.

### Outlook for the Future

The repression administered in the Pelican Bay SHU has long-term effects beyond the obvious racism and violence in the yard. The trauma of isolation felt by SHU prisoners leaves deep scars. Most lose contact with family and friends who are deterred by distance and cost from visiting the often remote prisons. Besides, many prisoners say that they do not want their families to see the state they are in: nervous, insecure, and drawn, with shaved heads from crude self-administered haircuts. Those labeled gang members have special concerns: Anyone who associates with them

is suspected or presumed to be in the gang. This taint extends even to a prisoner's contacts in the community through the CDoC Gang Taskforce's outside investigative network. Thus, prisoners are reluctant to write friends or ask them to visit. Friends, and even family members, do not write for fear they will be labeled gang members by their local police department.



Mario's story is illustrative. He was married and had children. During his most recent incarceration, he was accused by informants of being in a gang and sent to Pelican Bay SHU. His wife, not wanting their son to be tainted by his father's gang tag, filed for divorce. Without any formal charges giving the prisoner the right to face his accusers, the judge granted the divorce and denied all rights of visitation and correspondence because of "gang affiliation."<sup>33</sup>

Pelican Bay is a nightmare fulfillment of widespread demands for more punitive prisons. This abandonment of rehabilitation imprisonment is the apotheosis of the Adjustment Center concept gone bad — the AC without treatment. The SHU demonstrates that the more cruel and overcrowded our prisons, the more violent the prison yard will become.

Indeed, prisoners subjected to imprisonment in a SHU return to their communities untrained, untreated, poorer, and more disenfranchised than when they left. This system of dehumanizing high-tech torture promotes violence, exacerbates gang activity, and deepens the fissures of race and class that already divide the United States. •

33. PBIP investigation, 1990.

### Recommended Reading

**Carl Deal, *The Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations* (Odonian Press, 1993).** This book is an eye-opener for anyone who cares about the planet. It explains the backlash to the environmental movement, and reveals the corporate funding behind fifty groups — think tanks, legal foundations, "consumer" groups, etc. — who want to destroy the environmental movement. \$5.00 in bookstores, or from Greenpeace, 1436 U. St, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005.

**Peter Kornbluh and Malcolm Byrne, ed., *The Iran-Contra Scandal: The Declassified History* (New Press, 1993).** The Declassified History contains the 101 most important declassified records — many never before published — on the secret decisions, covert operations, and subsequent cover-up that created one of the most serious constitutional crises of modern times. "This is a history we must not forget." — James Ridgeway, *Village Voice* \$40.00 hardcover, \$24.95 paperback.

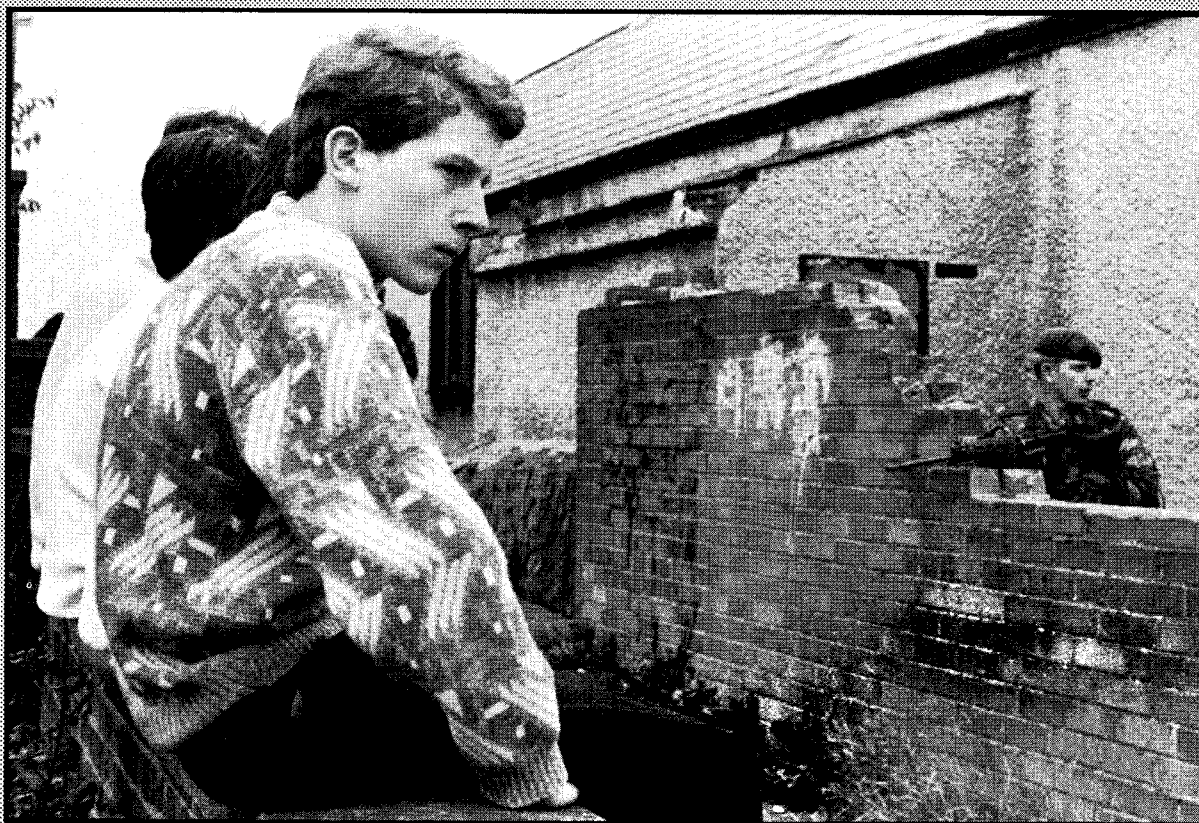
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## IRELAND'S TARGETED GENERATION

Betsy Swart

On afternoons and weekends, you can often find the young people of Coalisland in the cemetery. They are there to visit the fresh graves of their friends Barry, Sean, Paddy, and Peter. In the U.S., we might assume that the deaths of four men not yet 25 were related to drugs or alcohol, to prom-night antics or fast cars on busy streets. But Coalisland is in the North of Ireland. Barry O'Donnell, Sean O'Farrell, Paddy Vincent, and Peter Clancy were young IRA members who died in an ambush by British Special Air Services (SAS) division soldiers wielding AK-47s and anti-tank missiles. To the people of Coalisland, the attack was a slaughter; the boys didn't have a chance.

The explanation for the murder in a church parking lot in a rural town in the North of Ireland is quite simple: The British military hierarchy is targeting an entire generation of young people for neutralization or death. Bernadette Devlin

McAliskey, a longtime activist and former member of parliament for mid-Ulster, which includes Coalisland, describes it like this: "The British Army — not out of prejudice, not out of ignorance — but as a deliberate military tactic, harass young people for screening purposes so that they can determine whom they will imprison and whom they will kill."<sup>1</sup>

### Harassment, Terror, and Torture

In County Tyrone, in West Belfast, and in other Nationalist areas of the North of Ireland, harassment of both boys and girls by security forces begins legally when they reach age 16 — but in actual fact it often starts when they are 13 or 14. It is so common that children and parents treat it as a matter-of-fact part of everyday life. A father in Ballymurphy, a predominantly Catholic area of West Belfast, told Helsinki Watch that "the soldiers are on the street when the kids go to school, they're back when kids come home for lunch, and they're back again when the kids leave school. They con-

Betsy Swart is a freelance writer living in Washington, D.C. She works with the D.C.-based Committee on Women and Ireland which sponsors fact-finding delegations to Northern Ireland.

Photo: Donna De Cesare/Impact Visuals. British army patrols regularly stand in people's gardens in Catholic Belfast neighborhoods.

1. All quotes from Bernadette Devlin McAliskey are from personal interviews with the author in October 1992 and January 1993.

stantly provoke them. They call them Irish bastards and push and shove and jostle them. They search them and put them up against the wall, spread-eagled. They ask them to take their shoes and socks off, even in the middle of the street and when it's cold and rainy. It's humiliating. ...It's constant torture."<sup>2</sup> A 15-year-old boy told of physical as well as psychological abuse: The soldier "hit me a dig on the back of my head and on my ribs, so it wouldn't show. Then he shoved his gun against my throat."<sup>3</sup>

"I was coming home for lunch," reported a 17-year-old from North Belfast. "There were three army foot patrols about 50 yards from my house. One of the soldiers said, 'Are you following us?' Then he punched me in the face. ...I fell against the second Brit, who grabbed me and held me. Then the first one punched my face and the side of my head and my nose." In a similar incident on the night of February 27, 1992, an 18-year-old was stopped by soldiers and asked to show identification and give his address. They grabbed him by the throat, held him against the wall, and told him next time he was seen at night he would get a bullet in the head.<sup>4</sup>

In and around Coalisland, where Barry, Sean, Peter, and Paddy lived, this kind of harassment is endemic. You can see it everywhere—on the sidewalks and roads in and around Coalisland, Dungannon and other small towns of County Tyrone. There the young people stand — often barefoot or stripped to the waist — being searched by the military, being passed from one soldier to another. They'll be stopped at one street corner and interrogated. Having undressed and dressed again, they will cross the street only to be stopped by yet another soldier. "But I've just been searched over there," the boy will say. "Over where?" says the soldier, feigning ignorance. "I didn't see anybody searching you." And the process will begin again.

Soon some of the young people will begin to constrict their lives. They try to avoid the soldiers and those people who attract the soldiers' attention. They begin to "stay home and play cards and watch videos," a mother told Helsinki Watch. "Half the time they are afraid to go out. They're interned in their own houses."<sup>5</sup> After about a year, this group will be left alone. And that's the first level of the "screening" process. The remaining group, however, faces increased harassment

until the army sorts the kids with politics from those with none. The soldiers take particular note of those who will talk back to the soldiers; who will challenge the soldier to a "fair fight"; who will stand up for their rights against all the odds.

This second level of screening takes place not on the streets, but behind the locked doors of interrogation centers where "suspects" can be held up to seven days for questioning. These are abysmal, dark, ugly places which even those with the bravado for a street fight often find more than they can handle. In spring of 1992, the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights — a quasi-governmental body which advises the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on human rights issues — visited Castlereagh Holding Center. "The walls were encrusted with grime," said SACHR chair, Sir Oliver Napier. "The cells were dirty and smelly. ...There can be 20 detainees there at one time."<sup>6</sup> Conditions in the Belfast Remand Prison (Crumlin Road Prison) are equally dreadful. Prisoners — even teenagers — are locked in their cells for 23 hours a day, with only one hour for exercise. Prisoners report that they are often allowed to "slop out" only every other day,

so they must sleep and eat near overflowing chamber pots in cells infested with roaches. Medical facilities are inadequate. And there is a 16-hour wait between dinner, served at 3:30 p.m. and breakfast served at 8:00 a.m. the following day.<sup>7</sup>

Hundreds of young people annually are abused in detention centers such as these. Under the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provi-

sions) Act 1989 (PTA), anyone suspected of "being a terrorist" — including children — may be held seven days for questioning. After the European Court of Human Rights ruled that a four-day detention under the PTA violated Article (5)3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, the United Kingdom simply disavowed that section of the Convention.<sup>8</sup> Now, as before, week-long stays at Castlereagh characterized by physical and psychological abuse are commonplace. "Last year, when I was 18," a young woman told Helsinki Watch, "they took me to Castlereagh and kept me there for a week. They wanted me to be an informer. They insulted me; they said I was so well-built, I would make a good blanket for a top IRA man. Now sometimes the Peelers [police] and the Army, six at a time, will stand outside my door and yell, 'top IRA woman,' for about five to ten minutes. My nerves are

**They grabbed him by the throat,  
held him against the wall,  
and told him next time he was  
seen at night he would get a  
bullet in the head.**

2. "Children in Northern Ireland: Abused by Security Forces and Paramilitaries," Helsinki Watch, July 1992, p. 18.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Brogan v. United Kingdom*, 1988.



very bad. They told me that if I was blown up, it would take five or six body bags to pick up my body."<sup>9</sup>

Damien Austin, son of a Sinn Fein<sup>10</sup> councilor, describes his treatment in Castlereagh: "They punched me and kicked me and beat me every day. One of them spat in my face. On the second day, they pulled my trousers and underpants down and held a lighted cigarette lighter under my testicles. ...They kept telling me they would kill me. ...On the second day they also strangled me and punched me in my stomach. ...They said I'd be dead before Christmas and my father, too."<sup>11</sup>

In August 1991, Tony Garland, a 17-year-old from West Belfast, was taken to Castlereagh Detention Center, held for six days of interrogation, and was then charged with membership in the IRA and attempted murder. "They kept slapping me real hard on the back of my head and my throat," he said. "I got real bad headaches and nosebleeds and swollen glands in my throat. They told me if I didn't cooperate, they would lift my mother and my 12-year-old brother and beat them. ...[They would] have to let me go after seven days but that they would just lift me again for another seven."<sup>12</sup>

Few survive the interrogation with the will to continue fighting the British. Those who are "screened out" join the young people who stay home and out of the soldiers' way.

And that leaves an even smaller group who don't break, who continue to challenge the soldiers about why they are in Ireland, about democracy, and about Ireland's right to self-determination. It is this group — the group to which Barry, Sean, Paddy and Peter belonged — who are marked as a "danger to the state."

### Britain's Oldest Colony

Ireland's history has been one of alternating repression and rebellion ever since the Anglo-Normans first invaded in 1169. Today's war in Northern Ireland dates back to 1921-22 when Britain partitioned the country, creating two "Statelets" — the 26-county Republic in the south (largely Catholic) and the six more industrial counties of "Northern Ireland" (predominantly Protestant). The economic exploitation of human and material resources that marked Britain's occupation of Ireland had much in common with its colonial adventures around the world. By cutting off Ireland's northern industrial

base, partition was meant to ensure that Ireland could never develop as an economic rival to Britain, and would remain a source of cheap food, goods, and immigrant labor.

During the years following partition, northern Nationalists who challenged their country's colonial status were harassed, persecuted, arrested, and interned without trial. The comprehensive 1922 Special Powers Act gave the government wide-ranging powers of search, arrest, detention, and imprisonment, even including the power to prohibit inquests. This act was such a model of legalized repression that South African Minister for Justice Johannes Vorster said he "would be willing to exchange all of the [South African] legislation of that sort for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act."<sup>13</sup> The economic and political apartheid institutionalized against nationalists was especially harsh in areas of housing allocation, electoral franchise, and employment.

The nationalists — with electoral channels largely neutralized by the artificially manufactured Unionist "majority" — created political, religious, and industrial organizations to present their agenda. In 1967, discontent over institutionalized discrimination led to the formation of the Northern

Ireland Civil Rights Association. Inspired by the U.S. civil rights struggle, the movement founders asserted moderate demands for democratization, including: one person, one vote; an end to gerrymandered local government boundaries; an end to housing discrimination; and the repeal of the Special Powers Act. To the organizers' surprise,

their non-violent marches and demonstrations were met with vicious force from the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and Unionist paramilitary groups. In 1969, the massive burning of Catholic neighborhoods in Belfast by loyalist forces and police precipitated what was the largest movement of refugees in Western Europe since World War II.

On August 14, 1969, pledging that it would stay for only a few weeks, the British sent a "peacekeeping force" into the North. That claim of neutrality was publicly dashed on January 30, 1972, when TV cameras recorded the violent unprovoked attack by the military on a peaceful civil rights rally in Derry. In what became known as the Bloody Sunday Massacre, the world watched as 14 unarmed men and boys were shot dead by British paratroopers.

Outrage at a pattern of similar attacks on civil rights marches and widespread opposition to British military occupation led to a reorganization of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Gradually, passive resistance turned into guerrilla

**There are about 30,000 military and RUC personnel in the North of Ireland—one armed trooper for every 20 Nationalists.**

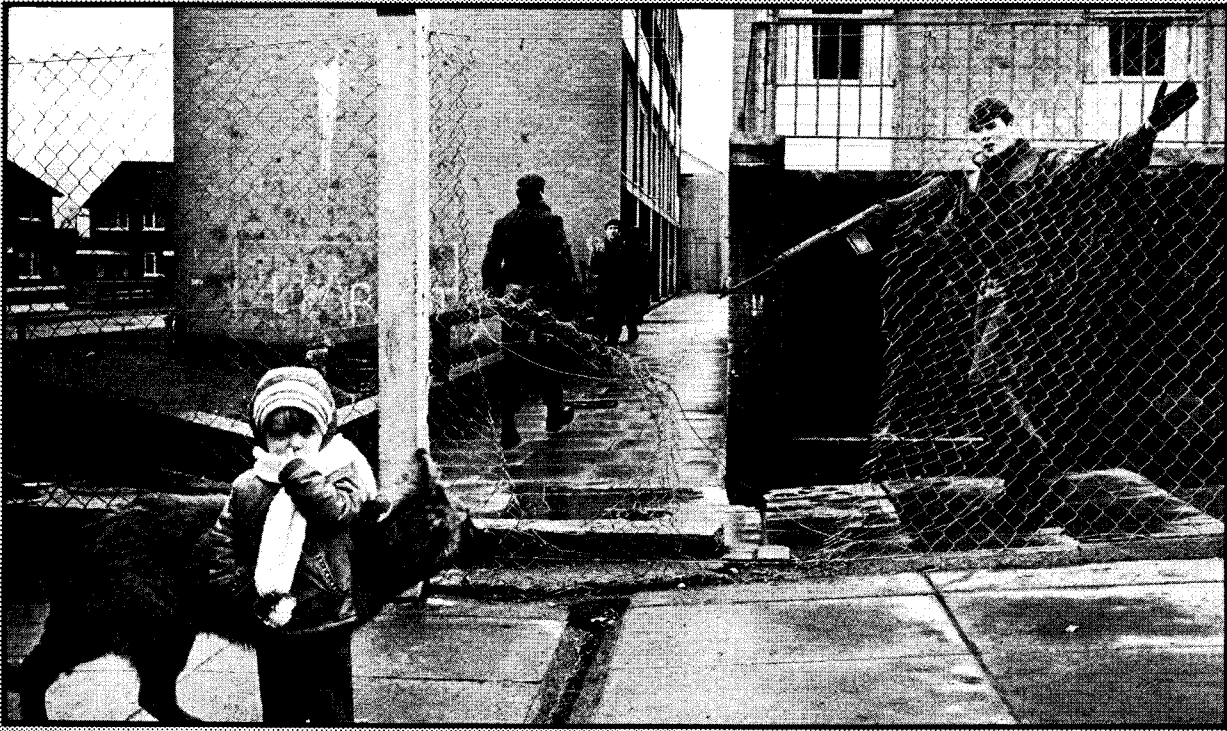
9 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

10. Sinn Fein is a political party with grassroots programs. Because it is often identified as the political arm of IRA, its members and elected officials cannot be interviewed or quoted in the electronic media.

11. *Brogan v. United Kingdom*, 1988, p. 6.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

13. "The Partition of Ireland," Sinn Fein, 1990.



struggle as people looked to the IRA as their only hope of forcing the withdrawal of British troops from the North and establishing self-determination. Twenty-four years after their temporary deployment, British troops remain in the North. There are now about 30,000 armed military and RUC personnel in Northern Ireland — one armed trooper for every 20 persons in the Nationalist community.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile the IRA continues its opposition through military struggle while Sinn Féin claims 40 percent of the Nationalist vote in the North.

### The U.S. Connection

While British military terror tactics keep the young people of the North of Ireland in check, the U.S. bolsters Britain's political and economic grip. Since 1986, the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) has channeled more than 289 million U.S. tax dollars into the hands of middle-class businesspeople in little rural towns like Coalisland.<sup>15</sup> The Fund's ostensible purpose is to "promote economic and social advance" and to "encourage contact, dialogue and reconciliation between nationalists and unionists." What it really supports is a pro-government agenda which further marginalizes the poor by channeling money into the middle-class business sector. In its first five years, the Fund spent more

than £164 million (\$254.2 million) on such projects as improving shopkeepers' storefronts, installing jacuzzis in hotel rooms, and covering police barracks with heritage brick. About 98.5 percent of that money came out of the pockets of American taxpayers.<sup>16</sup>

Although established by the British and Irish governments, the fund depends heavily on money from the U.S. — its largest contributor — the European Community, Canada, and New Zealand. U.S. Economic Support Fund grants flow through the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), which is supposed to ensure accountability and control. The Fund's Board members are appointed by the British and Irish governments and it is advised by a committee of senior representatives from those countries. A 1989 General Accounting Office (GAO) report coyly states that "although the Board is independent of the contributing governments...it tries to respect the wishes of the donors."<sup>17</sup>

IFI programs not only help the already advantaged sectors — by funneling money into the pockets of local businesspeople and government officials — but hurt young people such as Barry and Sean by perpetuating high youth unemployment, now at 70 percent in Coalisland. Bernadette McAliskey gives an example of U.S. tax dollars at work in Coalisland: "The Fund declared that it would give a grant for the restoration and bringing into public use

Photo: Raissa Page/Format/Impact Visuals. Troops in West Belfast.

14. "Britain's War on Ireland," *Spare Rib*, August-September 1992, p. 51.

15. "Annual Report," International Fund for Ireland, 1992, p. 5, and "Annual Report," International Fund for Ireland, 1991, p. 6.

16. U.S. General Accounting Office, "Foreign Assistance: Administration of Funds for the International Fund for Ireland," April 1989, p. 12.

17. GAO report, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

# Black Youth in Police Crosshairs

Keith Jennings

The harassment that haunts the young people of Northern Ireland, decimates their ranks, and dims their futures is mirrored on the streets of America. The techniques police use to repress black youth in the U.S. would not surprise the young people of Coalisland: Strip searches, brutal beatings, attack dogs, stop and frisks, trumped-up charges against friends or family members, "field interrogations," and verbal abuse are "standard operating procedures" for many police in national minority communities.

In the U.S., it is impossible to separate issues of incarceration and police misconduct from those of race. Spiraling imprisonment rates for black men is but one measure of the magnitude of the problem. (See p. 44.) To most police, the typical criminal suspect is a young black or Latino male. These groups suffer a peculiar form of human rights abuse: collective punishment. It is imposed by repressive public policy, reactionary law and order ideology, and the war on drugs—in reality, a war on people of color. As police increasingly rely on race as the prime indicator of criminal behavior, the pattern is clear: Skin color equals "probable cause."

The targeting of black youth arises out of long-standing government policies of social control and political repression. Today, in urban, suburban, and rural jurisdictions with heavy black populations, police are perceived as, and act as, an occupying force. In the name of fighting crime, they, along with such federal agencies as the FBI and DEA, conduct regular and massive sweeps through the black community, sometimes cordoning off whole neighborhoods and interrogating anyone entering and exiting.<sup>1</sup> They swoop in at will to monitor, control, and ensnare their quasi-colonial subjects with sophisticated technology and weapons. Then they leave as quickly as they appeared, rarely responding to the community's real safety needs. More often than not, the police contribute to the problem of crime and violence through increasingly militaristic responses and overt or covert involvement in the drug and weapons trade. And, in some cities, police have joined white racist gangs.<sup>2</sup>

In 1992, the NAACP held hearings in six cities with notably bad records for police brutality. It documented police arrest quotas as well as routine harassment and intimidation of black youth. In Miami, for example, black youth were discouraged from "hanging out" in shopping malls. Police would ask if they had money. If they did, the police took it; if they didn't, they were told to leave or face arrest. Either way, the mall was off-limits to those judged "bad for business."

The brutality does not stop short of murder. In Mississippi, in the past five years, 48 grisly jail cell deaths (over half of them blacks) have been ruled suicides. In Miami, in a six-month period in 1989, police shot ten people; nine were black. In New York City, where 64.1 percent of the population is white, 60.4 percent of victims of police shootings are black.<sup>3</sup>

In the U.S., racism and police militarism combine to create an environment in which harassment is a fact of daily life for many African-Americans. Prosecutors, judges, the media, and politicians trade civil rights for law and order. They cut the bargain easily; the rights being abridged, after all, belong to members of another race or class. In the context of public panic over gun proliferation, the drug war, and the crime epidemic, even members of minority communities tolerate violations in exchange for promises of safer neighborhoods.

Police brutality against African-Americans is directly correlated with a deterioration in socio-economic conditions. The federal government has abandoned the cities, educational and health care systems fail to meet basic public needs, unemployment is rising, and the American dream is moribund. Either a vast systemic change must be acknowledged and undertaken, or a scapegoat must be targeted. That scapegoat has been African-Americans in particular and people of color and the poor in general.

According to favored ideology, then, affirmative action and illegal aliens cause unemployment; lazy "welfare queens" and irresponsible fathers undermine family values; young blacks cause unsafe streets and skyrocketing crime. With guilt established, an angry and frustrated society gives its permission or turns away when police punish those they hold responsible.

As long as black youth are scapegoated for all the system's failures and anti-social behavior is blamed on underclass pathology, America is on a fast track to trouble. Urban poverty breeds social anarchy. Eventually, it may spawn the type of organized fight-back that the repressive apparatus of the state has sought to check. Ultimately, the struggle on streets all over the U.S. will take on the overtly revolutionary political character it has in Northern Ireland. •

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Keith Jennings is managing editor of *Black Political Agenda*, P.O. Box 27481, Washington, DC 20038.

1. *Beyond Rodney King: An NAACP Report on Police Conduct and Community Relations* (Baltimore: NAACP, April 1993), p. 24.

2. John Blake, "Mississippi Urged to Reform Its Jails," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 19, 1993, p. A3.

3. NAACP, *op. cit.*

of derelict property." Gesturing to a section of town that consists largely of boarded-up buildings, she continued, "Before that announcement was made, this was a thriving main street. But it went into instant dereliction." While local businesspeople were granted money to expand their businesses, McAliskey explained, "there is no money for unemployed youth. Nor are there very many of the town's unemployed youth working on these projects. Because the idea in practice doesn't work. If people get grants, they want to hire a building contractor — not local kids, especially if they're getting picked up by the police every day. So they don't employ local labor. The only people who actually benefit from IFI projects are the people who could have well afforded to do the thing themselves in the first place."

But by far the biggest IFI blunder in Coalisland was the new Heritage Center. The renovated building used to be an old eyesore. But now, thanks to the Fund, it's a very expensive new eyesore. Created without public input or reference to civic needs, local people who would have preferred a civic center or low cost housing rarely enter it. They consider the "heritage" center and museum an insult to the community's real labor history: to the corn mills, clay works, weaving factories, and coal mines that once flourished. "My children's grandfathers shoveled coal here for two old brown pennies a ton when there were 240 pennies in a pound," McAliskey says. "But this building is a mockery of our past."

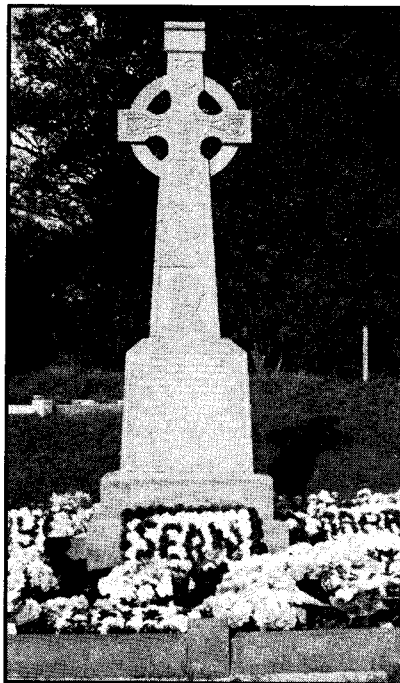
The extravagant site will feature a mock canal, wrought iron lampposts, and hanging flower baskets, probably imported from Britain. Townspeople especially ridicule the canal as the only part of the project that will be useful: It will provide a place where unemployed kids can throw beer cans, and when the pubs close, piddle. The more optimistic point out that the town might actually get one permanent job — someone to fish kids out of the canal. The Coalisland Heritage Center cost U.S. taxpayers more than \$500,000.

### The National Endowment for Democracy

While IFI acts largely on a local level to promote a U.S.-British agenda, other U.S. agencies interfere in national politics to broaden the middle-class and neutralize potential nationalist support for the resistance. The U.S., according to journalist Tom Hanahoe, "appears to have entered Northern Ireland's political arena — as well as its private one — to promote its own choice of nationalist political party there — the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)."<sup>18</sup>

After an *Irish Times* story substantiating charges that the SDLP was secretly receiving U.S. government funds through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), SDLP head

18. Tom Hanahoe, "U.S. Influence and Interference in Ireland," *Top Secret*, Summer 1991, p. 4.



Betsy Swart

Grave of Sean and Barry, (l.) and the police complex they attacked (r.).

John Hume tried to squirm out of the allegations. His party, he said, was financing a "foundation for research and training of young people in politics" through funds provided by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), an international branch of the Democratic Party.<sup>19</sup> What he *didn't* say was that the NDI is, in fact, one of four specially created agencies through which NED channels money. Each of the major U.S. parties has its own NED vehicle: NDI is a branch of the Democratic Party while the International Republican Institute (IRI) is the Republicans' arm. Both receive NED funds to promote "democratic political ideas and forces."<sup>20</sup>

Between 1986-89, NED, through NDI, gave \$258,948 to SDLP's Social Democratic Group Ltd. for "party-building" activities. SDLP members have also attended NDI-organized seminars in the United States with the Endowment picking up the tab. Hanahoe contends that U.S. tentacles are tightening around Ireland in an effort to accomplish two main goals: "[T]he ending of the Republic's military neutrality through membership in the EC and NATO, and the simultaneous undermining of progressive resistance in the North through the neutralization of the Sinn Fein party."<sup>21</sup>

Both goals seem nearly within reach. The Republic's entrance into the EC marks the first step toward ending that nation's military neutrality — maintained since 1921 and

19. *Irish Times*, June 3, 1989.

20. Tom Hanahoe, "SDLP: The CIA Connection," *Resource*, Spring 1988; *Irish Times*, June 3, 1989. NED plays a major role in influencing elections around the world, its part in the defeat of the Sandinistas in the 1990 Nicaraguan election being the most blatant example. It is now pouring resources into the ex-USSR. See Holly Sklar and Chip Berlet, "NED, CIA, and the Orwellian Democracy Project," *CovertAction*, Number 39 (Winter 1991-92), pp. 10-13, 59-62.

21. Hanahoe, *op. cit.*



## British Gag Order

As in all colonial wars, the British deployed not only military might but propaganda. For over two decades, through legal censorship and media manipulation, the British government has suppressed information about the struggle in the North. A 1988 broadcast ban prohibits any spoken words by a member of a proscribed organization or any comments that would support or invite support for such a group. For example, no member of Sinn Féin may be interviewed in the electronic media. Journalists who violate the ban are subject to severe fines.

This ban has chilled journalists and prevented dissemination of information documenting collusion between the security forces and loyalist paramilitaries. Nationalists have long claimed that RUC officers and soldiers patrol their neighborhoods, question residents, search homes, and later pass information on to loyalist paramilitaries. Last year Channel 4 aired a program alleging that RUC frequently cooperates with unionist death squads in the murder of Republicans. Channel 4 was fined £75,000 for airing the show and Ben Hamilton, the program's principal producer, was charged with contempt of court and arrested in a dawn raid on his house in London. Hamilton, who vowed not to reveal his source, is now free on bail, but his case remains open and can be reinstated at any time.

His arrest sent a message to other journalists that investigation into collusion between police and paramilitaries in the North will not be tolerated.

\* Seamus Kelters, "Police Face Fury Over Dawn Arrest of Journalist," *Irish News*, September 30, 1992.

with great controversy during World War II. In many ways, Ireland is like a Third World country in its relationship to Britain and the U.S. During the Cold War, Britain's hold ensured that its strategically sited bases and military monitoring stations would remain available to NATO. Under the New World Order the threat remains: Organized political resistance and the movement for self-determination there, as around the world, undermine the U.S.-British agenda. Indeed, in the small nationalist towns and villages of the North of Ireland, the U.S. presence looms ominously on the horizon — sealing off the options of progressive change and further marginalizing young lives.

### The Death of Barry O'Donnell

Barry O'Donnell was raised in such an environment in the nationalist community of Coalisland. After a brief sojourn in England, he had come home to Coalisland because he had nowhere else to go. An intelligent boy from a respected family, Barry had gone to England as a student. One day he was unfortunate enough to borrow a car that belonged to his

cousin, who was under police observation. Barry's claim that he was unaware that the car contained weapons was confirmed by forensic evidence. Although fingerprints were found on the trunk and weapons in the trunk, none of those prints was Barry's. Nonetheless he was charged with possession of weapons and conspiracy to commit murder and, even though finally acquitted and released, he went home to Ireland with an Exclusion Order on him. That classification meant that he could not return to Britain and complete his education. And because of the circumstances under which he could not finish his studies in Britain, he could not get a university in the North of Ireland to accept him.

His parents wanted him to take some "breathing space" in the U.S., but because of the Exclusion Order, he couldn't get a visa. So he went south to the Irish Republic where the police crucified him. They harassed all the people who took him in; they visited all the employers who tried to give him a start at something — like working in a bar or on a building site. Day after day, endlessly, the people who tried to help the boy had their daily lives disrupted, their routines made difficult, their security threatened. Barry O'Donnell was trapped — every option for employment, education, or emigration was cut off. And he was not yet 21 years old. So Barry went home to Coalisland. There, along with Sean and Paddy and Peter, he was subjected to a pattern of regular and unrelenting harassment by the police and the military. And the town watched.

"Everyone in the town knew that Barry O'Donnell had no future," says Bernadette McAliskey. "...It wasn't simply to say that this young man who might in some other society have had the opportunity to be a graduate was not going to be a graduate. It wasn't simply to say that this young man who had the potential to earn a good living wasn't going to get a job of any description. It was that everybody in our town knew that he had *no future at all*, that he wasn't going to see 25." The same was true of Sean, Paddy, and Peter. "We all knew that one day they'd be cut down," she says. "Sometimes Barry and his mates would be picked up by the police ten or more times a day. The lads couldn't lift their heads. I remember talking to Barry about whether or not he would keep a notebook about his experiences. He had a great sense of humor. He told me he couldn't keep a notebook because he didn't get enough time in the day to fill it in."

Barry, Sean, and the others got so used to the street harassment that they didn't really complain about it. If they were stopped while driving, though, the military could escort them to the nearest holding center and take their car apart. So quite regularly then, the police or the military would stop the boys, escort them 20 miles out of their way to the center at Aughnacloy, take their car apart, remove the seating and panels, and search it. Finding nothing, they would put the car back together and — hours later — allow the boys to drive home. Naturally, by that time, there wasn't much point in going wherever it was they had been going in the first place.

As the level of frustration and anger rose, the whole town talked to the boys — trying, as McAliskey puts it "to find some way of extending their lives past their twenties." But

the boys — with the simple logic of youth — told their friends and families that they saw only one way to go forward. "We have no future," they said. "The possibility of us growing up, marrying, having jobs, having families, or emigrating, just does not exist. Therefore, we might as well do what we have to do while we're here." The British military had cut off every avenue of escape. The boys saw two options: to endure a life of constant physical and psychological abuse at the hands of security forces or to stand and fight. They became part of the IRA.

On a cool night in February 1992, they decided to launch an attack on the Coalisland police barracks. This police station is not really a police station in the traditional sense. It is more like a walled outpost that sits like a fort in the middle of Coalisland with a huge tower in the center of the complex. On that tower there's a camera and audio surveillance system which can not only see and hear what people say and do on the streets of Coalisland, but can see all the way to the Lough Shore, about 40 miles away. The police complex is huge; it is high-tech; it is invulnerable. Nevertheless, the boys launched their Don Quixote-like attack using a general purpose machine gun. The police knew they were coming and simply sat and watched. There was no return of fire. There were no casualties. There was nothing.

McAliskey describes the events that followed:

One of the most frightening experiences I've had in 20 years in the North was that night. When the boys fired on the barracks, everybody in the town hit the ground at once. Everybody thought their immediate area was under attack. Then there was a gradual realization that it had been an attack on the barracks. The gunfire had been loud but short. We heard the boys' lorry moving away from the center of town. Then there was silence. After a short time, there was more gunfire of a different kind. It was incessant. And it lasted easily for six minutes. Very young people in our community did not know what was happening. But those of us who were older knew exactly what we were listening to. And it seemed as if the whole town of Coalisland was standing out in the night listening somewhere to its children being killed. And afterward, that gunfire came to an end with three single and distinct shots. Four boys died that night and three of them were finished off by the British military with distinct and separate pistol shots.

Barry, Sean, Paddy, and Peter died in the Clonoe Church car park, which, in its position at a country crossroads, is a focal point of rural activity — a place where kids congregate to look for a ride to a disco or to a neighboring town. The boys had dismantled their gun *en route* to Clonoe and driven into the car park where they hoped to blend in with other local youths socializing there. But British soldiers, in plain clothes and an unmarked car — were waiting for them. They fired on the lorry with an anti-tank missile and missed, hitting the church instead. According to witnesses, Paddy Vincent was killed outright in the lorry by machine gun fire. The other boys ran in different directions. Barry, apparently and for

whatever reason, ran toward the soldiers. All were riddled with bullets but were still alive. Then each was executed by a single pistol shot.

By the time Coalisland residents made their way to Clonoe, the church was burning. The military claimed a stray bullet hit the oil tank in the church roof. When the smoke cleared, however, it was obvious that the only thing in the church that was *not* burned was the oil tank. But not one journalist reported that the military had lied to hide the fact that they had used a sophisticated anti-tank weapon on so small a target as a pickup truck.

But the townspeople knew. Less than a year earlier, Tony Dorris had been killed when his car was fired on by a similar weapon. Both car and passengers were incinerated. In order to identify Dorris, his parents had to give blood samples which were then cross-matched and genetically fingerprinted with Tony's ashes.

Coalisland is a town of approximately 4,500 residents. When it came time to bury the four boys, the British authorities shipped in 2,000 RUC police officers. There was barely room to move in the town. The police so impeded the progress of the funeral that it took the townspeople from 8:30 in the morning until 4:30 in the afternoon to get the bodies from their homes to the church and from the church to the graveyard. But there was a remarkable thing about the funeral — something that set it apart from other funerals like it. And that was the incredible number of children in the cemetery. Children — in blazers with school insignias — children who had clearly walked out of the classroom in a blatant challenge to parental and school authority. It's as if they were saying, "We're in the cemetery with Barry O'Donnell and what are you going to do about it?" These children, say the residents of Coalisland, represent a new political force in the North of Ireland. Because they are — by choice — the Republican children of liberal Social Democratic parents, and they are a force for change that the British military deeply fears. Britain has turned Ireland into a Third World country and these kids have grown up in the oppressor's back yard. They have his skin-color and his language. They understand his technology. But they also understand marginalization, oppression, occupation. Their politics have been finely honed on the whetstone of British imperialism. They represent, says McAliskey, "a vibrant, white-faced alternative to the New World Order."

It is not uncommon for young people in Coalisland to go to the graveyard after school, to sit on the hillside overlooking the town, and even to talk to Barry or Sean, including them in local gossip or school stories. It is a sad sight, but it's really more than that. These young people are not hopeless or despairing, and they're not looking to create heroes or martyrs. Instead, they have developed a quietly determined and clear-headed attitude. They don't go to the cemetery to romanticize death. They go there to connect the past to the present and to develop a coherent and realistic strategy for their own futures. "You have never seen," says McAliskey shaking her head, "children like we've produced in this generation. And they will eat the British empire alive." •

# INTERVIEW: FRED WEIR IN RUSSIA



**CAQ: Have the events in Russia since Yeltsin assumed power constituted a second revolution?**

**Fred Weir (FW):** It's more like the entire elite stood up one day and changed their lapel pins. Now the old Communist elite, or *nomenklatura*, is leading a capitalist political and social revolution. Yeltsin was a leading member of the communist administrative elite and was lifted to power by it.

The *nomenklatura* can be simply defined as the executive corps of Soviet society. It was recruited according to much the same criteria any big corporation would use: a certain number of points for merit and personal ability, a certain number for achievement, for loyalty to the company, and ability to spout the company line. A wide range of social groupings — most of the intellectual, professional, managerial, administrative, technical and leading military cadres of Soviet society — were regimented on this basis into the Communist Party.

At a certain point most of them began to realize, as Gorbachev opened things up, that their elite status would be much better guaranteed by private property and free markets than by a party card.

There's been no upsurge of the oppressed masses in Russia at any point, not even during the August 1991 coup. Rather, the Communist Party elite liberated themselves from communism; they threw off the chains of Party discipline and enthusiastically abandoned all those hypocritical communist structures about limiting and concealing privilege.

In the actual building of capitalism, however, many sections of the *nomenklatura* have fallen by the wayside and the consensus among them has broken down. People who thought they were going to be the governing strata in a new

society are losing their jobs, being impoverished, and becoming very bitter. The intellectuals, for instance — whose themes during the Cold War were intellectual freedom, human rights, and so on — had a very idealized view of Western capitalism. They have been among the groups to suffer most from the early stages of marketization as their huge network of institutes and universities are defunded. Also, the managers of industry and collective and state farms have understood that in the free market global economy, most of their industries will collapse.

The Soviet Union industrialized and modernized itself by a very peculiar and autarkic route. It built an organic and in some ways quite modern and effective economy, but most of

**Both Yeltsin and his policies actually lost the referendum vote in over half Russia's regions.**

it isn't compatible with global market structures and won't be able to compete in world markets against German, Japanese, and U.S. products. Soviet-era industries are in precipitous decline. Their managers and other large sections of the elite

have turned against Yeltsin's shock therapy project to rapidly create capitalism in Russia.

That is the essence of Yeltsin's split with parliament. You have to recall that the Russian parliament was elected in the first completely open and free election in Russia three years ago, and a majority of those elected were Yeltsin supporters. Today's charges that the deputies are mostly hardline communists are nonsense: these are the same people who elected Boris Yeltsin as their first chair (ironically the job that his main rival, Ruslan Khasbulatov, holds today); they stood by him during the abortive coup and after that supported him in dissolving the Soviet Union and then overwhelmingly voted him sweeping emergency powers to introduce radical economic reforms.

Whatever the flaws of this Parliament, its members are much closer to the grassroots than Yeltsin and his circle of very bright, but totally ideological advisers. And so par-

Fred Weir is Moscow correspondent for *Hindustan Times*, a reporter for Canadian Press, and a contributor to *In These Times* and *Monthly Review*.

Photo: Orde Eliason/Impact Visuals/Link. President Boris Yeltsin is welcomed to the London Stock Exchange by Peter Rawlins, September 1992.

liamentarians hear the people screaming in pain as their living standards plunge and they lose the social safety net.

By any objective standards, Yeltsin's economic program has produced a social catastrophe, and alienated the managerial and technocratic elite. That is one key reason Parliament has turned against him.

Another is that Yeltsin has moved to accumulate vast powers in the executive branch. He ruled by decree from November 1991 to March 1992. Parliament's efforts to take back the extraordinary powers they had temporarily granted him were the main trigger for the present political crisis in Russia. Yeltsin's draft constitution, which he is trying to get adopted without the participation of parliament, describes a strong, authoritarian regime in which the president has the power to appoint the government, dissolve parliament, and declare a state of emergency.

**CAQ: Is there nothing left of the ideology of socialism among Yeltsin and the *nomenklatura* elite, only a complete dedication to free market capitalism?**

**FW:** When I came here seven years ago at the outset of *perestroika*, there was very little belief in socialism among the generation dubbed the golden children. These sons and daughters of the Communist Party elite had received excellent educations, had the best that the society could give them, and only aspired to live like their Western counterparts. Many had high positions in the Communist Party, but were absolutely exuberant Westernizers, pro-capitalists, and from very early in the *perestroika* period, this was their agenda.

If you run down the list of Yeltsin's key advisers, you find that until the last few years, most were fairly prominent communist administrators or intellectuals. Yegor Gaidar, the architect of shock therapy in Russia, was the economics editor of the Communist Party organ *Pravda* until 1990. Yeltsin's main political adviser, Gennady Burbulis, was a lecturer of scientific communism in Yeltsin's hometown of Sverdlovsk. There isn't a single Vaclav Havel-type figure in this regime to symbolically reconcile it with the anti-communist dissidents of the past.

**CAQ: Internationally, who is supporting Yeltsin?**

**FW:** The G-7 countries seem to have put their heads together and decided that from the standpoint of Western capitalism it is important to continue shock therapy, to integrate Russia rapidly into the world market, and to liquidate



CIA

the remnants of the Soviet economy. From many points of view, even from their own long-term point of view, I think it's a very dangerous and misguided policy. It will reduce much of Russia to Third World status: selling off its raw materials while importing First World finished products. The country really is a cornucopia of raw materials, very huge quantities of which are already hemorrhaging out of the Russian economy.

In the shorter term, however, for Western corporations, given the economic problems at home, the need to expand markets is paramount. According to *Kommersant*, a leading Russian business newspaper, only about two percent of Russians, or three million, have the income to live at a middle-class, Western European level. Although that's not many people, a big proportion are concentrated in Moscow and St. Petersburg. If you add the 100,000-member foreign community, it means that Moscow is now a world-level consumer market roughly equivalent to a mid-sized Western city.

The emerging social profile is similar to Brazil: Alongside increasing numbers of poor is a thin strata of very wealthy people who make their incomes by mediating Russian goods, usually raw materials, onto the world market and importing everything that they consume. The streets of Moscow are now filled with Mercedes and BMWs; you even see stretch limousines quite often.

**CAQ: The public perception in the West, especially after the referendum, is that Yeltsin has great grassroots support. Is that true?**

**FW:** Yeltsin won the referendum, and gained some political capital, but the result reveals mostly his weakness. Some 58 percent of those who voted said they "trust" him, but only a bare majority, 53 percent, said they support his policies. That actually reflects a society divided down the middle.



Also, Yeltsin's support was precariously concentrated in large urban centers, particularly Moscow and St. Petersburg. Both he and his policies actually lost the vote in over half of Russia's regions.

The people who voted for Yeltsin are, on the whole, working people who still want to believe in him, to "stay the course" as it were. In general, Russians are accustomed to thinking of government in terms of one strong man, and the anti-Yeltsin tactics of that fractious, rambunctious parliament has certainly aroused disgust among average people.

Also, many of the intelligentsia still support Yeltsin, despite the way the reforms have devastated them. Like generals fighting the last war, they are still focused on the almost non-existent communist threat.

Of course, Yeltsin's people argue that the referendum gives him a mandate to take firm and decisive measures, but neither the questions asked nor the result would seem to justify that. It's hard to see how he can use such a vote — *i.e.*, that 58 percent "trust" him — to do anything drastic and still remain within the democratic process.

It's a sobering thought that barely two years ago, in March 1991, Gorbachev won his referendum with much more impressive majorities. More than 74 per cent of voters in 9 Soviet republics voted for preserving the USSR. But he wasn't able to use that popular result against an elite that was in rebellion against him. Yeltsin now faces many of the same problems — particularly regional separatism.

#### **CAQ: Does support for Yeltsin correlate with class?**

**FW:** The Gaidar shock therapy project — it's hard to say the Yeltsin project because he didn't intellectualize anything — was explicitly designed to build capitalism and to call into being new social classes, that is, owner-entrepreneurs, who would be the social base for further reform. You would expect these people to support Yeltsin and, in fact, a lot of street hustlers and kiosk vendors do. But the new rich, whom Gaidar envisioned as the reform constituency, the people generating real capital, are very rapidly either leaving the country or moving into the camp of Russian nationalists — into fascist organizations like the *Russki Natsionalni Sobor*. Having made money, what they want most is stability. It recalls Weimar Germany, and there lies the savage folly of the Gaidar project.

Emigration is the only other noticeable trend among the rich. The most valued status symbol in Russia today is not a new Mercedes, a lavish *dacha* or big diamonds — it is a foreign passport. Many Western countries, including Canada and the U.S., facilitate the exodus with policies that grant residency and a fast track to citizenship for "investors" who put a certain amount of money into the local economy.

The enormous capital flight from Russia over the past three years has far exceeded any Western aid coming in. Last year the Russian Central Bank estimated the outflow at around \$20 billion.

#### **CAQ: The U.S. press generally seems to present Yeltsin as the legitimate elected voice of the Russian people. How well do these press reports portray the reality of Russia today?**

**FW:** U.S. journalists as a group appear to have changed little. They socialize mainly among themselves and spend a lot of time at the U.S. Embassy, and generally have failed to rise above the Cold War view of Russian politics as nasty communists vs. good democrats. They also have a sense of solidarity with the State Department. I'm sure that the Soviet Communist Party would have been delighted if it had journalists like that. Soviet journalists in the past wrote what they were supposed to write, but when you got them alone, they would tell you something completely different. On the other hand, U.S. correspondents are like that through and through.

#### **CAQ: It's the classic difference between controlling what people write and influencing what they think. Because the U.S. has done such a good job getting its people to internalize elite values, it needs fewer strictures on what is written.**

**FW:** Yes, the elegant thing about the system is that they prioritize the news with no one pulling their strings. They've been very partisan for Yeltsin, even to the point of abandoning their own professional formulas. Like, for example, the axiom that every story has two sides.

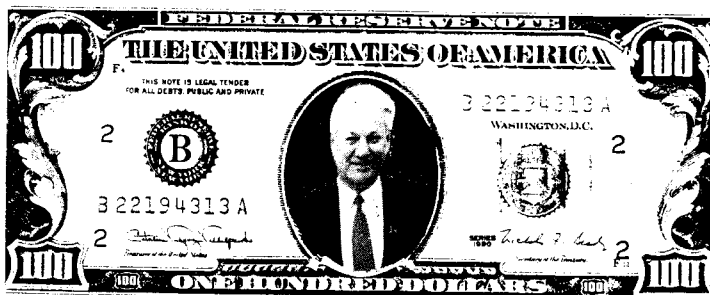
During the recent crisis, we constantly read the standard analytic phrase: "The Congress is a Soviet-era body which is dominated by former communists."

That phrase is employed like a mantra, as if it explains everything. I never saw a case where a U.S. journalist pointed to the ob-

vious fact that it works just as well if you substitute Yeltsin for Congress: Boris Yeltsin is a Soviet-era president who is a former member of the Politburo. In other words, it explains nothing.

About halfway through the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, the AP bureau here — all 12 writing staff — suddenly dropped the "former" in that stock phrase, so that it read, "The Congress is a Soviet-era body dominated by communists" in all of their copy.

They really have been behind Yeltsin almost to the level of generating propaganda; they wouldn't be able to write like that from any other country in the world. I suppose that comes from Cold War educations, the sense of mission they always brought to this country, and the political urgency generated





Francisco Conde/Impact Visuals

**Government crackdown has not prevented communist demonstrators in Moscow who oppose economic shock therapy.**

by the government and Embassy people. I watched Bill Clinton stand with Boris Yeltsin in Vancouver and say: We support democracy and reforms, and you, Mr. Yeltsin, in Russia.

People need to remind themselves that what's unfolding here in Russia is still very much a struggle between different democratically elected bodies of power. It's an internal democratic struggle, and it's utterly inappropriate for foreign leaders to take sides.

It's also counterproductive to long-term Western interests to associate so closely with the shock therapy and the politicians who implemented it. The social disaster resulting from that policy will create a backlash, and when it comes, it's going to take on a very anti-Western character if the West is seen as the main author of the mess.

**CAQ: Will there also be a backlash in the sense that the Russians view the amount of Western intervention and aid as an infringement on their national autonomy, their sovereignty?**

**FW:** Well, yes. Within months, the big industries in central Russia are going to start to fold. They're already just staggering along on half time and short wages, and when that avalanche begins, there will be mass unemployment with tens of millions of workers out in the street feeling they were conned. They've been told for years that if you just toss out the Communist Party, adopt the right legislation, get a market economy, then by gosh, the West will come in here, invest, and show you how to better your lives. They certainly did not expect their lives to get worse.

This is political dynamite. In places like Brazil, where two-thirds of the people live in constant poverty, marginalized from the world economy — and this is not to diminish their suffering — there was not a highly educated population with high expectations.

One of the most popular jokes on Moscow streets lately is this: What has Boris Yeltsin done in one year that the communists couldn't do in 70 years? He's made communism look good.

Like most Russian humor, it has a bitter and angry core of truth. They knew a system that distributed resources and, although it wasn't great, they had jobs, homes, health care, three meals a day, and their children got educated. As they start to lose what were seen as rights and get the sense that the loss is permanent, the political consequences will be great. I have a very bleak view of this; there will be a terrible price to pay.

**CAQ: Do you expect that, rather than looking toward a democratic socialism, they will look more toward a fascist control?**

**FW:** Yes, I'm afraid that this is one of the very probable outcomes. In addition to a return to a state-controlled economy, the Russian nationalists' formula combines the worst of Russian history: a strong state — lacking even the Soviet Union's democratic pretensions; a rejection of the internationalism — which, however distorted, informed Soviet government policies and in many ways was quite successful; and irredentism — the urge to reunite Slavic peoples of the former Soviet republics or at least those areas with heavy Russian population. That's quite a lot of places including much of Kazakhstan, parts of other central Asian and north Caucasian republics, a big part of Moldova, and parts of Estonia and Latvia as well. The nationalists argue among themselves whether Russia should be restored within the pre-1914 boundaries of Czarist Russia, whether the USSR should be revived, or whether only the Slavic republics, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia should be reunited. The basic idea could appeal to broad masses of Russians in conditions of social catastrophe.

**CAQ: How strong is the fascist or nationalist Right?**

**FW:** It's hard to estimate, but they have a significant faction of deputies in the Parliament. They can put on a pretty good show in Moscow where their demonstrations draw 30,000 to 50,000 people. They have newspapers — the main one, *Dyen*, is a terrible, frightening rag with an immense circulation across Russia. Now, they're still a political fringe, but they are awaiting the self-destruction of the ruling circles in Moscow and further economic collapse, assuming, probably correctly, that it will all play into their hands.

**CAQ: How stable is Russia as a national entity? Is it likely to survive in its current configuration?**

**FW:** No, the processes that broke up the Soviet Union are continuing. The current Russian Federation is as much a forced multi-ethnic entity as the USSR was, but it now has full-blown free-market pressures accelerating the breakup. About 20 per cent of Russia is non-Russian ethnic minorities but they control over 50 per cent of the territory, including some of the richest sources of raw materials.

**CAQ: Are any of these areas threatening secession?**

**FW:** Areas with both a separate ethnic identity and something they could sell on the world market are the danger points. Tatarstan, a large Muslim republic on the Volga with some of the biggest oil reserves in Russia, has declared economic independence. Bashkortostan, also Muslim and closely related to the Tatars, with 60 per cent of Russia's oil refining capacity, is also edging toward greater independence. In the north Caucasus, there is one oil-rich Muslim republic, Chechnya, which has actually seceded from Russia. Karelia, a Finnish-speaking republic adjoining Finland, a huge area with a lot of minerals and forest products, has declared economic independence. Sakha-Yakutia, in eastern Siberia, is about a third the size of Canada. It has only a million people, but almost all of the former Soviet Union's diamonds (12 per cent of global production), the second-biggest gold reserves in Russia, as well as newly discovered oil, gas, and coal basins. It says it will be the Kuwait of Siberia. The title "Kuwait of the Caucasus" is claimed by Kalmykia, a little oil-rich Buddhist republic on the Caspian Sea. You see the trend here. People are asking quite logically: Wouldn't it be better not to sell our products through Moscow, but go directly to the world market and buy back from the world market what we want?

This applies not only to Russia's 21 ethnic republics, but to several key Russian regions as well. There are politically significant separatist movements developing in the Far East Territory, in central Siberia, and in the southern Black Sea regions of the Russian Federation. The rationale in these

cases contains no national considerations, just straightforward economic and political ones.

**CAQ: What is the role of the world market in encouraging those sentiments? Is the U.S. helping to develop resources in expectation of being able to exploit them?**

**FW:** I think there must be divisions within corporate and U.S. official policymaking circles. Many business interests would probably rather deal directly with a lot of little states than with one great state that's powerful and able to negotiate effectively. Geostrategic thinkers in Washington probably tend more to supporting a unified Russian government, just as George Bush preferred the Soviet Union as one big piece of real estate.

**CAQ: Do you know where Clinton stands on that?**

**FW:** I don't know. His ardent support for Yeltsin suggests that he supports a unified Russia, but I don't know that it will make much difference since large corporations are pursuing their own agenda.

For example, the global diamond monopoly, De Beers, had a long, cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union. Now they are confused and concerned about the political

insecurity and don't know really what to expect. But they know one thing for sure. They know where the diamonds are. They're in Sakha-Yakutia, and De Beers people including the Oppenheims, father and son, have been there several times courting

President Mikhail Nikolayev, and frequently wining and dining him in London. Other transnational corporations are also looking for the wealth, going to where it is located, and trying to cut deals.

**CAQ: What about the Muslim states and their relationship to fellow Muslim regions in the former Soviet Union? Are Turkey and Iran allying with Muslim republics in expectation of either cultural or economic benefits?**

**FW:** In Russia, there are only five or six million Muslims, but they are strategically located in Tatarstan and the northern Caucasus. The main Muslim republics of the former USSR are now independent: Kirghizstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan. In those states there is a tremendous amount of diplomatic, political and other activity with Turkey and Saudi Arabia. I think that most of these states and some of the Russian regions will reorient themselves to look south rather than north for inspiration, technology, and capital. The U.S. is putting its money on the Turkish model — a secular, pro-Western, capitalistic state — as the one to promote the former Soviet peoples.

**Russian joke:**

**Q: What has Yeltsin done in one year that the Communists couldn't do in 70 years?**

**A: He's made communism look good.**

**CAQ: How are Russian policy analysts dealing with Serbia?**

**FW:** It's just one of a series of geopolitical issues about Russian foreign policy and its orientations. Serbia, a traditional Slavic and Orthodox protégé of Russia, is a drum that Russian nationalists beat with some success. Western leaders seem to have made Moscow's cooperation on this issue a kind of acid test of overall Russian strategic intentions; that pressure aggravates the domestic struggle over it.

But there are deeper questions that Russian centrists and even Yeltsin supporters are asking about foreign policy. There is disillusionment over the humiliating aspects and lack of productive results from the pro-Western, and even junior partnerist, foreign policy that Andrei Kozyrev has pursued. For instance, for well over a year, Russia has acted with the West on all issues and ignored its traditional Third World partners, especially India. The Indians were going crazy; the important trading relationship they had, including critical supplies of military equipment, just collapsed. So did the broader strategic understanding on key South Asian problems. Yeltsin went to India in January and to some extent repaired things. The Russian foreign policy community is beginning to recognize that the USSR's relations with many Third World countries contained not only an ideological dimension, but often made good geopolitical sense as well.

There is a drift and struggle here in Moscow. You have a group of highly ideological people, like foreign minister Kozyrev, who for very strong and sincerely-felt reasons pushed this idea of Russia joining the West and cutting relations with traditional Soviet allies. Underneath them you have very large sections of the old Soviet elite — in this case the foreign ministry professionals — gradually pulling the pendulum back on pragmatic grounds.

**CAQ:** Let's talk about the environment. Apparently, great expanses of land and water in the ex-USSR are contaminated with nuclear and other toxics. Not long ago, an accident at Tomsk released an unknown quantity of nuclear material into the environment. A month earlier, information emerged about a long-standing policy of dumping nuclear waste — and, in fact, whole nuclear reactors, fuel rods and all — into the Arctic Sea. Both the level of contamination and illness from that disaster and others, as well as the level of distrust generated by bad handling of the situation, have been cited as significant factors in the downfall of the USSR.

**FW:** I think that's particularly true in terms of loss of credibility for the Soviet model of economic development among the people. The Soviet nuclear establishment is in deep trouble; programs everywhere, especially the military ones, are very messy and unsafe. Just as the U.S. has Savannah River and Hanford, the Soviets have horror stories, but they are all over, especially in western Siberia where there are major dumping facilities at Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk.



Steven Kasher/Impact Visuals

**Young dock worker has a fascination with things capitalist.**

The civilian program was not much better. The Soviets set off at least 100 peaceful nuclear explosions to build reservoirs for dam sites, excavate big pits for oil storage tanks, and things like that.

One of the really frightening developments is that the breakdown of the Soviet Union has sundered the tight scientific and technical connections that used to animate and control the system. Now, there is far less communication between the brain centers in Moscow and the 15 nuclear stations (with some 44 functioning reactors) many of which are in now independent states like Ukraine and Lithuania.

The waste situation is also chaotic. When Ukraine stopped selling vegetable oil to the people of Krasnoyarsk, for example, Krasnoyarsk stopped accepting Ukrainian nuclear waste. The whole system is breaking down.

**CAQ:** Are Russians aware of the level of danger and chaos? Is there protest or an environmental movement?

**FW:** There is, but it is not very big. The best environmentalists in Russia are the Greenpeace people, but they don't have a mass following. There isn't a proper Green party. This society is reeling in confusion and people are suffering an implosion of living standards. Environmentalism isn't on their list of priorities.

**CAQ:** What about a women's movement? In terms of unemployment and rights, women have been impacted as a group more than men. What has their response been, either as individuals or as a group?

**FW:** Again, there is no mass movement. There is the Moscow-based Institute for Gender Studies — which does some really penetrating studies and tough lobbying — headed by a brilliant feminist, Anastasia Posadskaya. The only nationwide political force is the Women's Union, successor to the old official Soviet Women's Committee. In the early years of *perestroika*, Gorbachev tried to establish grassroots women's councils in all workplaces and com-



munities, and the Women's Union has inherited the remnants of this. But its leadership is still rather cautious and conservative. With eight out of ten of the new unemployed among Moscow women (most of them are middle-aged and highly-educated), the Union's response is to run retraining programs to teach them to be hairdressers, cosmeticians, computer operators, accountants, and so on. It's humiliating for technicians and academicians to be taught to take in laundry as a survival skill. I respect that the Women's Union is doing something, but without a tough political analysis, it ends up providing only a bandaid.

**CAQ: Is the KGB still functioning domestically, and if so, at whom is it looking? Who is seen as a threat to order?**

**FW:** Well, as you know, the KGB was broken up into its domestic and foreign operations, with the foreign intelligence branch run by Yevgeny Primakov. Most of the domestic functions are now with the new Ministry of Security. As far as I know, it's still all there and doing everything it used to; perhaps more. For example, contrary to everything you hear, any Russian who wants to obtain a passport for travel abroad now needs to obtain a *razresheniye*, or clearance, from the Ministry of Security. All that was abolished years ago by Gorbachev but, astonishing as it might seem, a lot of those old functions are being reestablished.

**The industrial, technical, and scientific backbone of the former Soviet Union is disintegrating and large areas of it are going to be Third Worldized.**

The intelligence community's input into the power structure is hard to assess, but I did hear that before Yeltsin made that March 20th speech declaring his abortive "special order of rule" idea, he consulted with all the power ministries. The army told him it would be neutral; the Ministry of the Interior, which controls the OMON interior troops, said it supported him; and the Ministry of Security opposed him.

An awful lot of the security officers hate Yeltsin, they just hate him. These people have a profession that predisposes them to order and they think Yeltsin has totally destroyed order in the country. He also destroyed the things they think it might have been worth destroying order for — like the Soviet Union's world status and state cohesion.

**CAQ: How do people feel about the breakup of the Soviet Union?**

**FW:** It's funny, wherever I travel out of Moscow, an enormous number of people say how sorry they are that the Soviet Union broke up, and in the next breath they curse Yeltsin and threaten to break away from the Russian Federa-

tion. I don't have any real optimism for the short term. This former country was so integrated, in every way. Out of 300 million people in the ex-USSR, 60 million belong to mixed families. I feel the terrible tragedy of what happened and I can't help but think there is no other way for them to survive, other than to rediscover internationalism. Eventually they have to come back to that. But in the short term, all of the dynamics work against them.

**CAQ: And what about in the long term? What are the prospects for a democratic form of socialism emerging in Russia? Is there any hope for Russia developing what was referred to as a Third Way?**

**FW:** The best hope was in the early years of *perestroika*. Although there was not really a plan, there was a vision and there was the raw power. The USSR had a productive modern economy and might have done it, might have transformed itself gradually so as to enter the world economy on something resembling its own terms. That's all shattered. The industrial, technical, and scientific backbone of the former Soviet Union is disintegrating and large areas of it are going to be Third Worldized. I don't see putting Humpty Dumpty back together again.

There also is the fact that Russia cannot be digested into the world economy as a developed modern country. It can't be and it won't be, largely because the dynamic of the world economy doesn't work to promote the development of other countries in ways that make it possible for them to join the club of rich industrial countries.

But, then again, Russia is different from Third World countries which are similarly marginalized. It has a very strong, remembered experience that it was a superpower and a cohesive modern society, and I'm sure that factor is going to come back in unexpected new forms.

My fear is that the first reactions are going to be very extreme, dangerous ones. There is a democratic socialist movement out there with sharp insights and well-conceived programs, but it is still quite marginal. I know many of the people and I admire them deeply — activists like Boris Kagarlitsky, Alexander Buzgalin, and Roy Medvedev — but they don't have a lot of influence. They are shouldered aside by the big, simple-minded movements with clear ideological answers — whether it's Yeltsin's slogan of staying the course to capitalism, or the neocommunists and nationalists — which do have very coherent and persuasive answers. But both these movements are roads to disaster.

There is another factor. While I don't want to exalt or idealize the Soviet experience, the people are well-educated and very well organized into trade unions and mass movements. Despite the fact that everything was set in strict orbits around the Party state sun, the people still got a political education. Their understanding of the value of their collective activity can't disappear overnight. They also have a very strong collective ethic; it's a cultural phenomenon that predates the Soviet experience by hundreds of years and remains a very strong force.

# Profiteers Fuel War in Angola

Sharon Beaulaurier

Angola's Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebels may win through violation of international agreements and grand-scale deceit what they lost on the battlefield and at the polls. In September 1992, 16 years into the bloody civil war that has claimed over 300,000 lives, UNITA abruptly ended its year-old cease-fire with the ruling MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and launched its largest, most sustained offensive of the war. UNITA owes its surprising strength to a complex maze of companies scattered throughout the U.S., Western Europe, Russia, and Southern Africa, which has kept its forces well fed, armed, and clothed throughout its new wave of violence.<sup>1</sup>

By taking up arms again, UNITA rejected the outcome of the September 1992 national election that the U.N. and independent observers declared generally free and fair. The formerly socialist MPLA, which has led Angola since 1975, won over two-thirds of the parliament seats. However, with only 49.7 percent of the popular vote, MPLA presidential candidate Jose Eduardo dos Santos fell short of the 51 percent needed for a victory. A runoff election was called between him and UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi. Foreseeing a dos Santos victory, Savimbi opted out of the democratic process, returned to his guerrilla headquarters, then located in Jamba, and reignited the civil war.

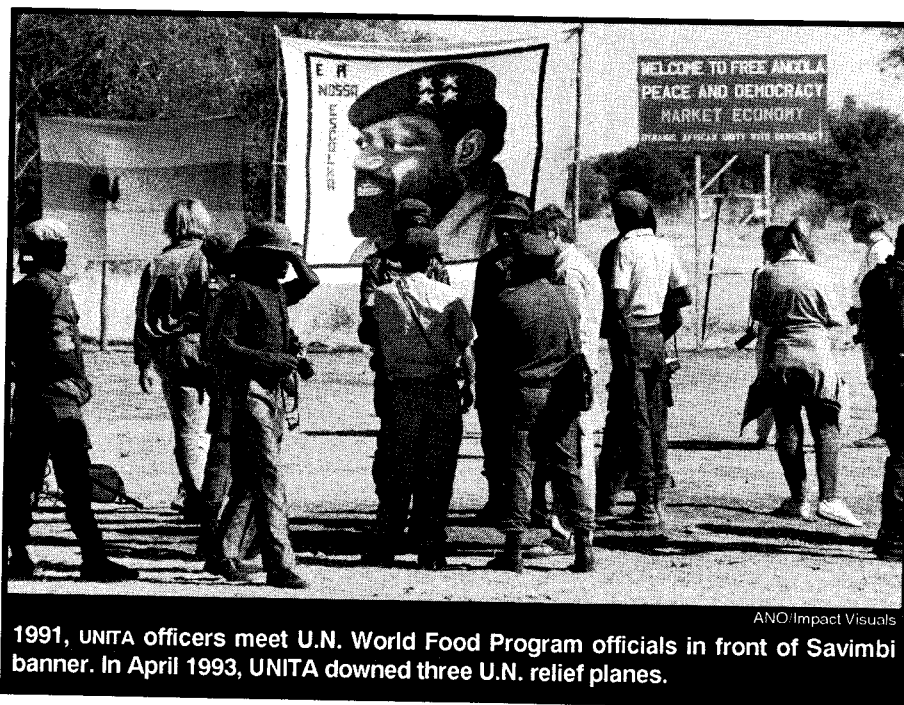
Sharon Beaulaurier, a Washington, D.C.-based writer, is currently an intern with the National Security News Service.

1. Support to either side in the Angolan war violates the United Nations Triple Zero Option of the 1991 Bicese Accords. The May 1991 Accords, overseen by the United States, Russia, and Portugal, established a cease-fire for the September 1991 elections.

UNITA is now closer to winning power than at any time in its history. While the MPLA disarmed and demobilized its forces in 1991 and 1992 in accordance with the cease-fire agreement, UNITA secretly prepared for electoral defeat by stockpiling arms, hiding its troops, and preparing to launch a surprise attack in case of electoral defeat.<sup>2</sup>

Sustained by a private network of international "humanitarians," UNITA's powerful military offensive has caused

great human suffering and over 40,000 deaths in the last six months.<sup>3</sup> The rebels now control over 70 percent of the country, including Huambo, Angola's second largest city and Savimbi's new headquarters. Two months of constant air raids in February and March reduced much of this heavily populated city to rubble. All told, 10,000 to 15,000 people were killed in the Huambo siege.<sup>4</sup>



1991, UNITA officers meet U.N. World Food Program officials in front of Savimbi banner. In April 1993, UNITA downed three U.N. relief planes.

Many of the city's inhabitants once supported UNITA, but now report horrifying stories of rebels beheading civilians, ambushing the refugee exodus, and tossing the weak and wounded into rivers to drown.<sup>5</sup> The U.N. predicts that the Huambo siege created as many as 90,000 refugees.<sup>6</sup>

2. Although the agreement required UNITA to disarm and convert into a political party, Savimbi maintained his arsenal and kept 25,000 of his best fighters "hidden in the bush." (Paul Taylor, "In Angola, Seeking Peace 'On the Cheap' Renews War," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1993.)

3. Author's interviews with Francisco Da Cruz of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the Organization of American States, and Malik Chaka of UNITA's Washington-based Free Angola Information Service, March-April 1993.

4. AP, "Angola Government Planes Bomb Rebel Areas," *New York Times*, March 14, 1993.

5. Chris McGreal, "Murder Stalks Refugees on Long Road from War," *The Guardian* (U.K.), March 23, 1993.

6. *Ibid.*

Undeniably, international humanitarian aid is essential to relieving the suffering in war-torn Angola. A recent report by the human rights monitor Africa Watch documented that land mines have maimed more than 20,000, and killed thousands more, creating the world's largest population of amputees.<sup>7</sup> Most of these are victims of U.S.-built mines planted by UNITA "with the deliberate aim of causing social and economic disruption." The report concludes: "The human impact of the land mines is likely to increase in the short term, with the return home of refugees and displaced people and attempts by civilians to reclaim their villages, fields, and pastures, and to travel along roads and paths."<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the direct civilian casualties who need special medical attention, the United Nations World Food Program estimates that three million civilians are threatened with starvation and disease.<sup>9</sup> UNITA, however, has used this human suffering as a cover for *ad hoc* resupply operations that are difficult to track and nearly impossible to catch ferrying supplies to the rebels.

### U.S. Backs UNITA

As a long-time ally of Jonas Savimbi, the U.S. refused to recognize the dos Santos government until May 1993, nearly eight months after the election. In doing so, both the Bush and Clinton administrations provided Savimbi with a degree of international legitimacy; he was battling an unrecognized government. During this time, Savimbi moved closer than ever to seizing power.

Savimbi's other key ally, the white South African government, has made no similar move, and would probably prefer to see Savimbi running its neighbor state during its own transition to a post-apartheid government.<sup>10</sup>

7. Cindy Shiner, "Angola Q and A," *Christian Science Monitor Radio*, *Early Edition*, May 12, 1993.

8. *Land Mines in Angola: An Africa Watch Report*, Human Rights Watch, January 1993.

9. UNITA has aggressively tried to prevent humanitarian supplies from being delivered into territory it controls. In April 1993 alone, UNITA shot down three U.N. relief planes carrying critical relief into northern Angola. ("UNITA Launches Fourth Attack on United Nations Plane," official press release of the Permanent Observer Mission of Angola to the Organization of American States, April 27, 1993.)

10. For more about U.S. and South African military, economic, and political destabilization efforts in Southern Africa, see *CovertAction*, Special: The U.S. and Africa, No. 13, July-August 1981.

U.S. diplomatic, military, and financial support for Savimbi goes back to 1974 when the U.S. first funded UNITA, partly on George Bush's watch at the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1976, Congress ended all aid when it passed the Clark Amendment, which shut down the CIA's Angola Task Force. In 1985, after a three-year battle for funding with Congress, the Reagan administration won a repeal of the Clark Amendment and resumed its effort to overthrow the Soviet- and

Cuba-backed socialist MPLA by providing covert training and arms to UNITA. The *London Financial Times* wrote that since 1985 the CIA invested \$400 million in Savimbi.<sup>11</sup> In the months before the election, the National Endowment for Democracy-funded International Republican Institute (IRI), National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) funneled an additional \$2.5 million for "party building" and "democratic initiatives."<sup>12</sup>

Thanks to the generous support of the CIA and the South African government, the UNITA forces are well-stocked militarily. In fact, six months into its new offensive, UNITA's representative to the United Nations boasted that they had stockpiled six months' worth of weapons and were not looking to buy additional arms. What UNITA lacks, however, is food, bat-

teries, medical assistance, and most importantly, fuel for planes and ground transportation. Because all foreign support, including from the U.S. and South Africa, is now banned under the 1991 U.N. Bicese Accords, these strategic supplies are flown into UNITA-controlled territory by private entrepreneurs under the pretext of humanitarian aid. In the months immediately after the elections, there were supplies with military applications in approximately one in five "relief" flights from South Africa to UNITA.<sup>13</sup>

11. Elaine Windrich, "Saving Our Man in Huambo," *Lies Of Our Times*, March-April 1993.

12. Author's interviews with the IRI and the IFES, May 19, 1993. Throughout 1992, U.S. government agencies expended nearly \$20 million to deploy 95 military personnel, several C-130 aircraft, and to lease helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft under the "peace consolidation process." (*CovertAction* interview with Cmdr. Keith Arterburn, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs; and DoD news briefing by Pete Williams, Pentagon spokesperson, October 6, 1992.)

13. Author's interview with Gerald Bender, Professor of International Studies, University of Southern California, March 1993.



CIA-backed Jonas Savimbi leads brutal rebel force against legitimate government of Angola in 18-year war.

In part, UNITA finances these operations by smuggling diamonds from the northern region of Angola, which it controls. The South African De Beers diamond cartel admitted to illegally purchasing \$300 million worth of diamonds from Angola in 1992.<sup>14</sup> In January 1993 alone, UNITA netted over \$400,000 selling diamonds on the black market.<sup>15</sup>

### MPLA Lacks Cash and Arms

While UNITA has surplus arms and currency, the government lacks both. When the Soviet Union crumbled and Cuba withdrew its military personnel under the 1991 cease-fire agreement, Angola lost its largest international supporters. In a recent interview, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos admitted that his government is now in desperate need of military hardware to "preserve its territorial institutions," but, he added, "we lack the cash to buy arms."<sup>16</sup> Dos Santos also acknowledged that the government had to sell much of Angola's future oil production to fund the war. Some reports estimate that the government has already spent revenue for oil which will not even be produced until 1997.<sup>17</sup>

Ironically, what little military aid the MPLA-led government does get comes via transnational corporations seeking to protect their regional oil interests by promoting stability. In March 1993, a British oil company hired 100 mercenaries through the South African security consultant firm, Executive Outcomes, to protect privately owned Soyo-based oil installations. Texaco transported the mercenaries on its own ship and maintains enough company helicopters to evacuate them in one load.<sup>18</sup> Two of these mercenaries have been killed in combat with UNITA, and, on March 7, three wounded soldiers — ironically, South Africans — were flown out of southeastern Angola to Windhoek for medical treatment.<sup>19</sup>

### The South African Lifeline

While the U.S. has formally backed away from involvement in the Angolan struggle it helped to exacerbate, South Africa is more overtly partisan. Many UNITA resupply flights originate in South Africa and South African "homelands" with no interference from Pretoria. The paltry international support for the MPLA is no match for UNITA's global supply line. In December 1992, the governments of Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Botswana accused South African aircraft of violating their airspace to fly into UNITA-held territory. South Africa denied the charges, but acknowledged that "private South African aircraft could, however, cross international borders illegally without the knowledge of the South African government."<sup>20</sup>

In March 1993, President dos Santos publicly accused Wonder Air, a South African chartering company that flies out of the Wonderboom airport near Pretoria, of flying illegal UNITA resupply flights. Close connections between the airline's owners and the Pretoria government cast doubt on South Africa's claims of innocence. Wonder Air is owned by Gert de Klerk (a close associate of South African foreign minister Pik Botha) and former South African defense minister Magnus Malan.<sup>21</sup> While many of the private relief network are merely profiteers who will sell arms to either side, others, like de Klerk and Malan, appear to be playing a significant role in an operation to preserve white South African dominance in southern Africa.

### Agreeable Right-Wing Friends

In March 1993, all doubt of official South African support for Savimbi was dispelled. *The Guardian* (U.K.) revealed the existence of Operation Agree, a covert strategy to maintain South Africa's economic dominance of southern Africa in a post-apartheid environment.<sup>22</sup> Its first effort was to undermine the liberation movement in Namibia, SWAPO, with a massive propaganda campaign in the 1991 election.<sup>23</sup> According to Nico Basson, a former South African intelligence officer, the second phase was to instigate support for UNITA in the September elections.<sup>24</sup> Upon UNITA's defeat, the emphasis shifted to fostering an international network of private relief organizations and dummy corporations to keep the UNITA troops well-supplied as they fight to gain control of Angola.

Headquartered in London, Operation Agree uses foreign-owned companies in its Angola operation. A key partner is *Hilfe in Not* (HiN), a German relief agency founded in 1986 by Deitrich Kantel, which runs "relief" flights primarily into Afghanistan and Angola. White South African Christopher Seabrooke, director of the SA Bias group which runs Operation Agree, acknowledged that his company did business with HiN. In December 1992, the United Nations Development Program in Luanda, the headquarters for the World Food Program, disassociated itself from any dealings with the German agency.<sup>25</sup> According to a U.N. official, HiN is the only other relief agency, besides the World Food Program, flying into Angola.<sup>26</sup> It is the *only* relief agency flying into UNITA-controlled territory.

In January, HiN chartered four DC-6s to ferry supplies to UNITA from Namibia. Before they could take off, the planes were seized by Namibian authorities at the Rundu airstrip

14. Martha Honey's interview with Johannesburg-based news reporter, Eddie Koch, March 1993.

15. Chris McGreal, "Unita's Diamonds of War," *The Weekly Mail*, March 5, 1993.

16. Interview conducted on March 19, 1993, by RTP Internacional Television (Lisbon), copyright *Africa Intelligence Report*.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Andrew Trench, "Mercenaries: Tale of the Tape," *Daily Dispatch* (East London, South Africa), March 17, 1993.

19. Victoria Brittain and David Pallister, "Wounded Mercenaries Expose S African Aid Line to Unita," *The Guardian* (U.K.), March 13, 1993.

20. Press release #78/92, South African Mission to the U.N. December 7, 1992.

21. "Arms dealers descend on Luanda," *Africa Analysis*, March 1993. Malan was demoted to minister of forestry and water affairs when he was implicated in assassination plots.

22. Brittain and Pallister, *op. cit.*

23. *Ibid.*; See also "ANC Activists: Inside the South African Government," *CovertAction*, Number 34 (Summer 1990), pp. 14-16.

24. Brittain and Pallister, *op. cit.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Author's interview with World Food Program spokesperson, Paul Mitchell, March 30, 1993. The World Food Program is the primary relief agency in Angola, and is responsible for the transport and delivery of all International Red Cross and other non-governmental relief agency goods to Angola.



John Liebenberg/Impact Visuals

Extensive use of land mines in Angola, many from the U.S., has maimed more than 20,000, and killed thousands more. The war-torn country now has the world's largest population of amputees.

after it was discovered that they were carrying supplies for the UNITA troops (UNITA has several airfields along the Namibian and Zairian borders with gravel runways that require the use of DC-6s).<sup>27</sup> One of the DC-6s, predictably, originated with a South African company — Barbican Aircraft Company in Germiston.<sup>28</sup> The other three DC-6s were supplied by a Namibian company, Namibia Commercial Aviation (NCA), which, since 1990, has chartered Cessnas and DC-6s into Angola for the U.N. and various relief agencies.<sup>29</sup>

After this seizure, Angola accused NCA directors Chris Shutte, John Thornley and Nick Weber of illegally supplying UNITA.<sup>30</sup> Shutte denied the charges as “hogwash,” but conceded that NCA did contract flights with *Hilfe in Not* to deliver supplies into Jamba, Savimbi’s former headquarters. Still, Shutte maintained that all of his company’s flights carried only relief material: mainly food, seeds, and medical supplies.<sup>31</sup>

27. Martha Honey’s interview with Stiehan Pauli, Johannesburg correspondent for ZDF-TV, January 1993.

28. Embassy of South Africa, Washington, D.C., “Response to Allegations of South African Involvement in Southern Africa,” February 9, 1993.

29. Author’s interview with Chris Shutte, March 1993.

30. Televisao Popular de Angola, Luanda, January 29, 1993.

31. Shutte interview, *op. cit.*

### 1991 Crash Reveals U.S. Companies with CIA Ties

U.S.-owned planes and companies are also deeply involved in the UNITA resupply operation. Innocuously named front-companies — one hiding behind the next — recall the familiar pattern used in U.S. covert aid to the rebel forces in Nicaragua. In 1991, a C-130 transport aircraft crashed after takeoff from the Luanda airport, killing all ten people aboard, including three U.S. citizens. The plane, carrying cigars, alcohol, and food to UNITA territory, was chartered by Carib Air Transport, and owned by a Miami “film production” company, CZX Productions. CZX’s German-American owner, Deitrich Reinhardt, made headlines in 1987 when his Frankfurt, West Germany-based St. Lucia airline was caught flying arms for the CIA into Iran and UNITA territory. The parents of Charles Hendricks, a pilot killed in the crash, have been unable to locate Reinhardt, who has disappeared into a confusing myriad of front-corporations and post office boxes.

### Murky Miami Airlines

There are other parallels between UNITA’s war against the MPLA and the Contra war against the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Both rebel forces are notorious human rights offenders. Like the Contras, UNITA is battling a freely-elected government recognized by virtually every nation except,



until May 1993, the U.S. Also like the Contras, UNITA depends upon private "relief" organizations — many based in Miami — to circumvent the legal prohibitions against resupply operations. It is no accident that some of the same companies, even some of the very same planes, that supplied the Contras have resurfaced in Angola, giving new resonance to Chris Shutte's "humanitarian" intentions.

The Namibian Commercial Airlines' DC-6s seized at Run-du earlier this year have a particularly interesting history of involvement in U.S.-sponsored covert operations. NCA purchased both planes in 1991 from F.A. "Gus" Conner and Miami-based Conner Airlines to fill a contract for the World Food Program. A Conner employee said that his boss would never have sold the planes without a nod of approval from the U.S. government. Conner had used these DC-6s to fly supplies to the Contras in Central America during the 1980s, as well as to ferry cargo into South America, the Bahamas, Afghanistan, South Africa and Angola.<sup>32</sup> Even before Conner owned it, one of the DC-6s was being chartered by World Airways to fly from Bangkok to Vietnam in the early 1960s.<sup>33</sup>

A Miami-based pilot, Captain Monroe "Tex" Cable, delivered the Conner DC-6s to Namibia and trained the crews. For two to three months, Cable flew missions for NCA into Angola and Mozambique, supposedly for several different relief organizations, and a Southern California-based Christian group.<sup>34</sup>

### Russian Renegades

While many elements of the supply network are familiar, a new set of players in the Angolan civil war have recently emerged. They are the fledgling capitalists emerging from the former Soviet republics peddling sturdy and affordable aircraft to both sides. The Russian-built Antonovs are ideal airplanes for Africa: They are well-built, able to land in difficult terrain, and come considerably cheaper than their U.S. equivalents. And the renegade Russian pilots have a reputation for taking risky missions for very little money.

Ironically, Russian planes are being used to resupply the same UNITA troops the former Soviet Union spent almost two decades fighting. In one case, South Africa's *Weekly Mail* reported that a senior official in South Africa's Directorate of

Civil Aviation acknowledged that Armscor, the South African government's arms-producing company, had chartered Russian Antonovs to fly into UNITA territory from Mmbatha airport in the South African "homeland" of Bophutatswana.<sup>35</sup> Another Russian plane, owned by Del-Industries, a South African company with a Russian director, was grounded at Mmbatha because it was suspected of flying unauthorized flights into southern Zaire, a common destination for UNITA resupply flights.<sup>36</sup> These types of transactions are increasingly common, with U.S. and Russian businesspeople entering into joint ventures to sell idle Russian machinery to anyone who will pay the price.

### Elections As a Political Tool

After pumping hundreds of millions of dollars of covert military aid to the UNITA rebels and destroying the Angolan infrastructure with covert operations, the Bush administration switched tactics: it tried to use U.S. dollars to buy the election for UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

As a case study of democratic process and political control, however, Angola is as unremarkable as it is cynical. The *New York Times* recently quoted a senior State Department official who said, "UNITA is exactly like the Khmer Rouge: Elections and negotiations are just one more method of fighting a war. Power is all."<sup>37</sup> And in fact, the two groups are as much like the U.S. government as they are like each other; all three manipulate the electoral process to defend political and economic interests.

In Angola's case, the political stakes for the U.S. are dictated by the imminent change in South Africa from a racist white-run state to black-majority democratic rule. A Savimbi-led Angola with strong debts to the U.S. and white South Africa is a key to continued U.S. political and economic influence in southern Africa. If democracy were the real objective in Angola, the U.S. would long ago have joined the international community and the United Nations in recognizing the MPLA's election victory. •

**"UNITA is exactly like the Khmer Rouge: Elections and negotiations are just one more method of fighting a war. Power is all."**

—State Department official

32. Martha Honey's interview with Howard Davis, President of Conner Airlines, April 1993.

33. Federal Aviation Administration records for DC-6, tail number N44DG. World Airways' owner, Ed Daly, was hired by the U.S. government in the early 1970s to ferry arms and rice to Cambodia. Frank Snapp, *Decent Interval*, (Vintage Books: New York, 1977) p. 222.

34. Martha Honey's interview with "Tex" Cable, March 1993. The Permanent Mission of Angola to the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C. named Friends for Life, a Texas-based group, as a U.S.-based Christian organization actively supporting UNITA's war effort.

35. Gavin Evans, David Zaring and Eddie Koch, "Bop planes 'Ferrying Arms to Unita Forces'," *The Weekly Mail*, February 26-March 4, 1993. Also, SAFAIR, South Africa's "civilian" company that was initially established by the government to circumvent the embargo on the government, is leasing three Russian MI-17 helicopters with crews from a Russian-American joint venture, Ecotrends (Statement from Ecotrends general director in Moscow, A. Kadochenko, March 1993).

36. "Antonov Flights Acknowledged by SA Officials," *The Weekly Mail*, March 5-11, 1993.

37. Bill Keller, "The World; What the U.S. Can Learn from Angola's Loser," *New York Times*, January 17, 1993.

(Nazis, continued from p. 19)

### German Expansion

As part of its more aggressive military posture, Germany is developing Green Beret-style "crisis intervention forces" (although their deployment outside of NATO territory is still prohibited by the German Constitution), which can only be inhibited by the historical memories of the genocide committed by German *Wehrmacht* and SS elite troops some 50 years ago.<sup>41</sup>

Germany has also taken a leading role in the political and economic restructuring of Eastern Europe. It encouraged the breakup of Yugoslavia, and forced the international recognition of Slovenia and Croatia against the objections of the U.S. and other NATO allies.<sup>42</sup> By exacerbating the ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia, the Kohl government contributed to the refugee crisis which is now "coming home to roost" in the asylum debate. German neo-Nazis, too, have done their share by recruiting mercenaries to fight alongside the Croats with whom they have historical ties.<sup>43</sup>

In Bonn, demands for border revisions in Eastern Europe have moved from the political fringe to the center. While neo-Nazis have begun organizing in Silesia and other former German territories,<sup>44</sup> German government officials frequently refer to Eastern Germany as "Middle Germany," implying

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### Günter Grass describes the German government as "skinheads with ties."

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that the "real" East is constituted by the former German territories that are now part of Poland, the Czech Republic and Russia.<sup>45</sup> Professor Michael Stürmer, a prominent historian and adviser to Chancellor Kohl, recently suggested that Russia give up the Kaliningrad area at the Baltic Sea (the former German Königsberg).<sup>46</sup>

Despite a deepening economic recession in Germany, Bonn's fiscal and monetary policies exert a strong influence

on other European countries.<sup>47</sup> Using its economic might, the Kohl government is forcing Eastern European governments to cooperate with Bonn's anti-immigration policies and to recognize ethnic German minorities in their countries.<sup>48</sup> In Western Europe, too, Germany is pushing for the "harmonization" of restrictive asylum procedures.<sup>49</sup> The subtle muscle of the *deutsche mark* has proven much more effective than the genocidal firepower of the *Wehrmacht* in securing German hegemony on the continent.

### Shifting Right

Politically, within Germany itself, the climate has shifted dramatically to the right since reunification. Neo-Nazi leader Heinz Reisz is not exaggerating by much when he sums up the far Right's objectives: "It is not our task at the moment to seize power. Instead, we have to push the [ruling] parties to the right. We have succeeded: Today's CDU is as far right as the [neo-Nazi] NPD was 20 years ago."<sup>50</sup>

Confirming the slide to the right, progressive novelist Günter Grass describes the German government as "skinheads with ties."<sup>51</sup> In recent months, he joined the hundreds of thousands of Germans who protested against neo-Nazi violence.<sup>52</sup> These important (and long overdue) demonstrations may have helped to isolate politically the most vicious neo-Nazi elements. There are, however, also serious political limitations to anti-violence demonstrations and candlelight vigils. As the British anti-fascist journal *Searchlight* points out, "the central question of Article 16 [political asylum] was largely avoided and nothing at all was said about the key role of the Kohl government in sparking off the violence or about the sordid capitulation of the Social Democrats in accepting alterations to the right of asylum."<sup>53</sup>

The extreme Right is gaining ground in other European countries as well. Nowhere, however, is its resurgence as troubling as in Germany, with its legacy of the Nazi Holocaust, with its systematic disenfranchisement of immigrants based on a racist citizenship law, and with its overt quest for political and economic domination of the continent.

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47. David Marsh, *The Bundesbank: The Bank That Rules Europe* (London: Heinemann, 1992).

48. John Tagliabue, "Bonn Urges Russia to Restore Land for Its Ethnic Germans," *New York Times*, January 11, 1992; Marc Fisher, "Eastern Europe Swept By German Influence," *Washington Post*, February 16, 1992.

49. Eugene Robinson, "European Nations Coordinate Limits on Refugee Influx," *Washington Post*, December 1, 1992. Germany has long been a driving force behind the so-called TREVI group and the Schengen Accords which coordinate immigration policies, "counter-terrorism," and domestic political intelligence between Western European countries, and established a powerful international computerized police system, which includes databases on immigrants and refugees. See Tony Bunyan, "Towards an authoritarian European state," *Race and Class* (London), January-March 1991, pp. 19-27.

50. Bernd Siegler, "Dienel und Reisz: Zwei Einpeitscher der Rechten," *Tageszeitung*, December 12, 1992.

51. David Streitfeld, "Gunter Grass, Unrelenting," *Washington Post*, February 15, 1993.

52. See, for example, Stephen Kinzer, "300,000 in Munich Protest Violence," *New York Times*, December 7, 1992.

53. "Nazi terror gets cosmetic treatment," *Searchlight*, February 1993, p. 17. See also the op-ed piece of a prominent German Jewish intellectual: Micha Brumlik, "Kerzen über Berlin," *Tageszeitung*, January 29, 1993.

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41. "I fear the revival of German militarism" (Interview with retired Admiral Elmar Schmaehling), *German Liberal Monitor* (London/Leipzig), January 1993, pp. 24-26.

42. Marc Fisher, "Yugoslav Violence Puts Focus on Germany: Bonn's Support for Slovenia, Croatia Draws Comparisons with Expansionist Past," *Washington Post*, July 7, 1991; William Druzdiak, "Old Fears Stirred As Germany Asserts New Aggressive Role," *Washington Post*, December 23, 1991; John Newhouse, "The Diplomatic Round," *New Yorker*, August 24, 1992, pp. 60-71.

43. "Germany's Secret Balkans Plan," *Searchlight*, July 1992, pp. 12-16. "Kroatien: Tummelplatz für militante deutsche Nazis," *Antifaschistisches Infoblatt* (Berlin), July 1992, pp. 24-25.

44. Klaus Bachmann, "Neonazis wollen Schlesier infiltrieren," *Tageszeitung*, October 23, 1992.

45. Martin Lee, "Germany Moves to the Right," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 1, 1992.

46. Michael Stürmer, "Eine Aufgabe namens Königsberg," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 26, 1992; see Gary Lee, "Kaliningrad: German Rots vs. Soviet Rule," *Washington Post*, November 27, 1991.



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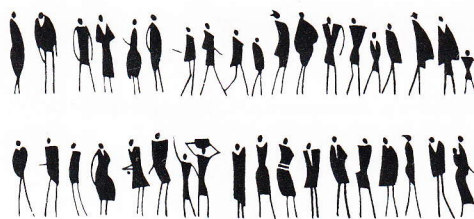
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